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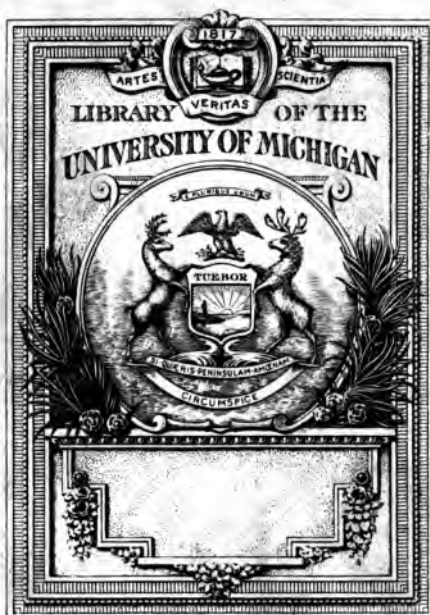
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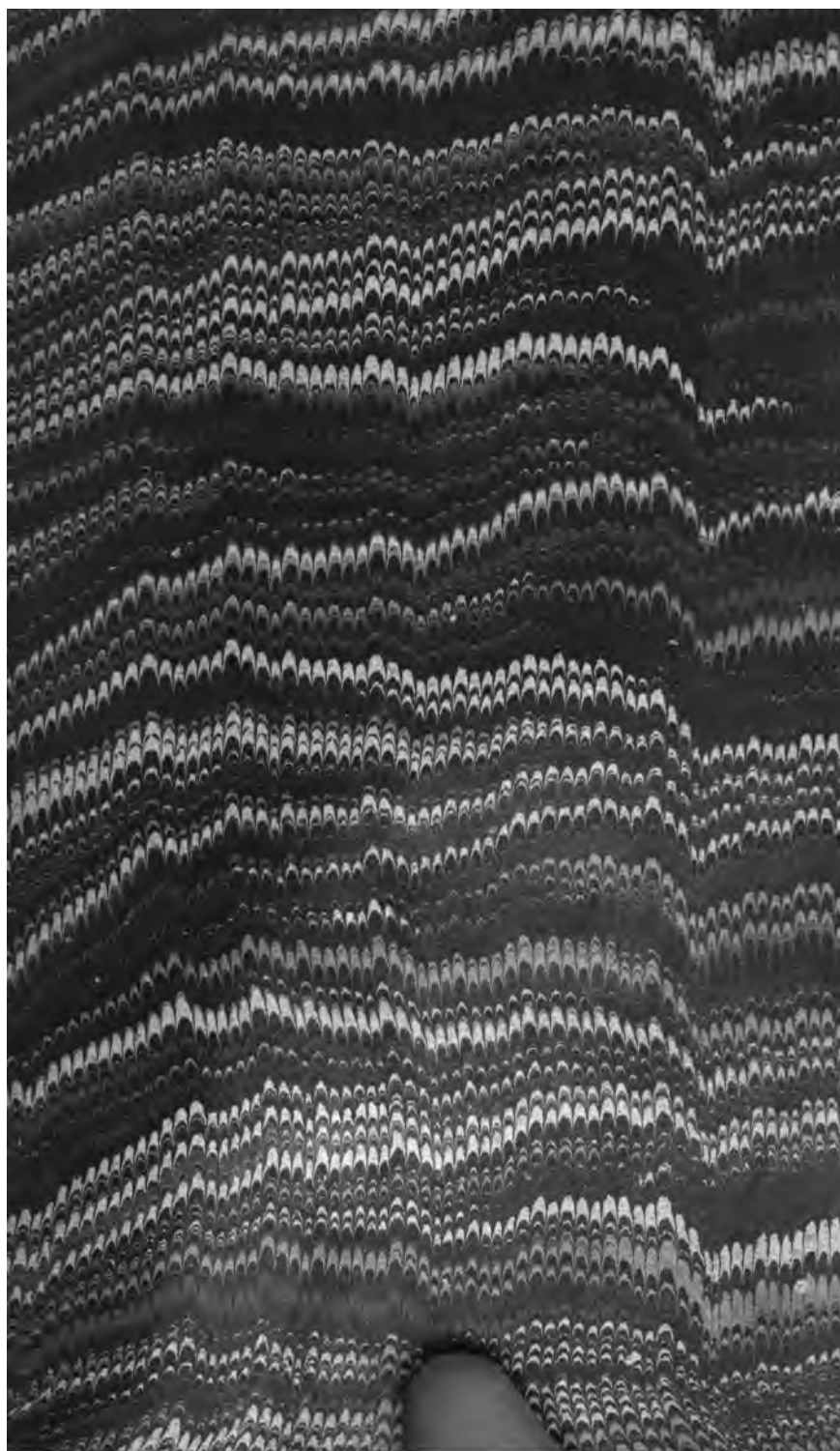
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A.B. 1886, LL.B. 1887.
LL.D. 1933





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General Kleber.

Pub. by M. Jones, Jan. 1807.



THE
L I F E
OF
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,
CONTAINING
EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR
By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;
WITH A CONCISE
HISTORY OF THE EVENTS
THAT HAVE OCCASIONED
HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,
AND A
PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW
OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS
A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.
ADDED
Memoirs and Original Anecdotes
OF
THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,
AND THE
MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE
APPEARED IN FRANCE
DURING THE REVOLUTION.

XXXXXXXXXX

VOL. IV.

XXXXXXXXXX

BY

WILLEM LODEWYK VAN ESS.

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General Suvarov.

Pub. by M. Jones, March, 1807.

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2



General Bournonville.

Pub. by M. Jones, Feb. 1807.



General Scherer.

Pub. by M. Jones Mar. 1807.



*Late
Duke of Orleans.*

Pub. by M. Jones Feb. 1866.



General Joubert

Pub. by M. Jousse Feb. 1807.



1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to determine what consumers want and need. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept for a product that meets that need.

2. The second step is to develop a business plan. This involves determining the costs of production, the pricing strategy, and the marketing strategy. The business plan also includes a financial forecast, which shows the expected revenue and profits over a period of time.

3. The third step is to create a prototype. This involves building a small-scale model of the product to test its design and functionality. The prototype is used to gather feedback from potential customers and to make any necessary adjustments to the design.

4. The fourth step is to conduct a pilot run. This involves producing a small batch of the product and selling it to a limited number of customers. The pilot run is used to test the production process and to gather feedback from customers.

5. The fifth step is to launch the product. This involves producing a larger batch of the product and selling it to a wider audience. The launch is typically accompanied by a marketing campaign to generate awareness and interest in the product.

6. The sixth step is to monitor the product's performance. This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and other key metrics to determine how well the product is performing in the market. If necessary, adjustments can be made to the product or the marketing strategy.

7. The seventh step is to evaluate the product's success. This involves comparing the product's performance to the goals set out in the business plan. If the product is successful, the company may consider expanding its production and marketing efforts.

8. The eighth step is to iterate. This involves making improvements to the product based on customer feedback and market trends. The process of creating a new product is an ongoing one, and companies must be willing to make changes as they learn more about their customers and the market.





General Jourdan

Engraved by H. Z. and Co. 1797.





General Dacot

Pub. by M. Jones Jan. 1867.

UN





General St. Cyr.

Painted by M. J. M. de St. Cyr.



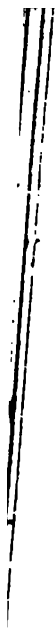




General Regnier

Pub. by M. Joux, Dec. 1802.

UNIV
OF
MIS





General Mafsona.

Pub. by M. Jones, Nov. 7-1806.





General. Mounier.

Pub. by M. Jones Feb. 1807



L I F E

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

BATTLE OF MARENGO.

Armistice between Generals Berthier and Melas.

TIME had flown so rapidly before the tardy steps of Melas, that he saw the absolute necessity of catching what remained: and now every division of his army was advancing to the seat of action, to secure the strong fortresses that were not yet surrendered. The Austrian head-quarters were removed to Alexandria, and the commandant of Turin was ordered to commence offensive war, by attacking General Turreau at Suza.

This injudicious attempt, even if it had succeeded, would but slightly have weakened in the West an enemy whose strength lay in the East; but General Kaim was repulsed with loss, and the French general took up a position of observation nearer to Turin.

The day after the battle of Montebello the French head-quarters were removed to Voghera, through which the army marched on its way to Tortona. The French, on passing under the window at which was the Consul, saw General Desaix (now appointed to a division) and an Emigrant officer, who had come to parley with him: upon this they endeavoured to shew in their countenances and their gestures the joy, or, rather, the *fierté*, which reigned in their hearts. The cries of *Vive Buonaparté!* with

music playing the burlesque air answering to the words *Nous lui percerons le flanc*, was seen to darken the aspect of the officer. How had a few days changed the fortune of all who depended upon the cause of the Allies! what wonders had the firmness of an individual effected!

To take Milan—to operate a junction with General Mouncey—to cut off the rear of the enemy at Brescia, Oriz, Novi, Marcara, and Placentia—to take their magazines, possess themselves of their depots, their sick, and their parks of guns, were the orders given to the different parties for their movements: while the main army had to watch that of the enemy—to beat up the Po, and effect the passage of that river before Stradella: the activity of all these movements gave to the French army what may be properly considered the *initiative*, which the genius of Buonaparté knew how to profit by.

The blockade of Tortona was to be the next enterprise: the army came to its position before that place in columns, by divisions; the advanced guard quietly surrounded the town, and the day passed without any remarkable occurrence.

If the Austrian commander had any doubts on his mind as to the line of conduct the most proper for him to pursue, this was the moment for him to determine. The possession of Genoa had so far altered his situation, that he had his choice either to fight or to shut himself up in the garrisons he yet held; and this decision ought to have been guided by the joint considerations of the proportion that his means bore to those of the enemy, and the probability there was that the court of Vienna would be able to send a new army and new supplies to his assistance. If his army was equal to that of Buonaparté, not a doubt could be entertained as to the propriety of hazarding a battle; but it would have been imprudent to face an enemy with an inferior force, because that enemy must of necessity have weakened his power by extending his operations; and it would have been advisable to have

taken the chance of receiving supplies in preference of losing all by a single defeat.

It should not be forgotten, that at the time the battle of Montebello was fought the Austrians were yet in possession of the strong fortresses of *Turin, Alexandria, Tortona, Genoa, Savona, Coni, Ceva, Alba, Asti, Verua, Casale, and Valenza*; beside the whole of the duchies of Mantua and Tuscany. Those fortresses might have been garrisoned, and have defended themselves at least as long as they had been defended by the French upon former occasions; and Genoa, with all its advantages, had now the superior advantage of an English fleet to keep it open and furnish it with supplies. Could the French leave troops enough behind to set down before so many places, and yet have an army sufficiently numerous to keep the field? suppose even that they could, and that they were so fortunate as to take the whole of those places, with the exception of Genoa; would Melas in that city have been situated worse than Massena had been before? and, being in possession of this port, could not the court of Vienna, with the assistance of its allies, have kept Savona also; and have poured in reinforcements with less difficulty than the French could have transported them by the Alps and Glaciers of Piedmont and Switzerland? It is the opinion of the French officers, that the Austrians did not trouble themselves with these inquiries. The writer of the dispatches to Paris says, that "they appeared to have no settled plan and to fluctuate in all their movements." They were busy without doing business, and the Consul took advantage of their confusion.

The French seem to have fought for Genoa from a sense of its value, the Allies from the childish motive of gaining a temporary triumph.

It ought not to have escaped General Melas, that, if the worst possible misfortune could happen to him—that he should lose every fortress without receiving any kind of supply, and, at last, receive orders to evacuate all Italy;



General. Mounier.

Pub. by M. Jones Feb. 1897.



at the entrance of the plains of Marengo. The Consul, and the thousand men of his guard, the staff of the army, and its enormous suite, were all heaped together at this place.

The morning of June 14th commenced, and some discharges of cannon, by the advanced guard, soon drove away their sleep: all was in readiness presently, and their breakfast was concluded as speedily as had been their supper the over-night. The division of Gardanne had been attacked at seven; at eight o'clock the enemy had manifested much vigour of preparation: he touched upon a few weak points and made certain dispositions in consequence; but his intentions were not fully known at head-quarters till towards the latter part of the morning. Berthier was the first upon the field of battle. Till this time the various aides-de-camp had relieved each other in apprising the Consul of the enemy's steps: numerous wounded soldiers arriving left no doubt that the Austrians were in force.

The troops under the command of General Victor were immediately drawn up in order of battle: the one part formed the centre, which occupied the village of Marengo; the other formed the left wing, which extended as far as the Bormida; the corps of General Lasne formed the right wing. The French army formed in two lines and had its wings supported by strong bodies of cavalry.

The Austrians displayed themselves successively, and *debouched* in three columns; that of the right by Figarolo; that of the centre by the great road to Marengo; and that of the left by Castel Ceriolo.

The Austrian left wing evinced a design to ascend the Bormida, and General Berthier received intelligence that the French right, under Victor, was attacked with great fury: by this developement of his forces the design of Melas was fully comprehended.

Upon receiving these tidings the Consul mounted his favourite charger at eleven o'clock, and made great haste

to the field of battle; General Desaix, who had been ordered to Seravalla, was instantly recalled, and his division, with the reserved cavalry, directed to support General Victor. Both cannon and musketry, on certain points, began to be heard and to approach nearer and nearer; many, both of cavalry and infantry, retired into the rear, wounded by the fire of the onset. The Austrian line was extended to the space of two leagues; for it is necessary to remark, that the Bormida, although generally rapid and deep, was, nevertheless, fordable at several places. The Austrians were particularly tenacious of their position near the bridge, but the principal point of action was at St. Stefano: from this point they could gain Voghera before the French could, and thereby cut off their retreat; they, therefore, incessantly directed their attention to this weak point. By twelve o'clock the French were well convinced that the whole Austrian force was on the field, and that they now, in good earnest, accepted the challenge which they had declined the day before.

Orders were given to the disposable troops in the rear to come forward, but the corps under the command of Desaix was still at a considerable distance. The left wing, under the orders of Victor, began to give way, and several corps of infantry retired in disorder, whilst whole platoons of cavalry pushed back. The firing drew nearer; in the centre a dreadful discharge was heard on the Bormida, which ceased all at once. "I," says Monsieur Petit, "was in an inexpressible anxiety, yet still I ventured to flatter myself that our troops advanced; on the contrary, however, I saw them, in a few minutes after, returning with but too much haste, carrying the wounded on their shoulders: on the part of the right wing, also I saw, with concern, that the enemy gained insensibly upon us."

Buonaparté advanced in front, and exhorted to courage and firmness all the corps he met with: it was visible that his presence reanimated them. Several soldiers were ob-

served to prefer absolute death, in sustaining the retreat, to the displeasure they might give him in being a witness of their flight. From this moment his horse-guards no longer continued, as before, near his person; but, without being at any great distance from him, took an active part in the battle.

A cloud of Austrian cavalry *debouched* rapidly in the plain and formed themselves in battle array, masking an immense train of light artillery, which instantly began to hasten the destruction of the French ranks. General Berthier, who, at no great distance, had his eye upon the movement of this column, was briskly charged by a part of it, and was forced to retire upon the horse grenadiers of the Consular guard. Murat, at the head of the dragoons, took the Austrians in flank, protecting the retreat of the infantry and preserving the right flank of Victor.

For two hours General Gardanne sustained the attack of the right and centre of the enemy without losing an inch of ground, notwithstanding his inferiority in artillery: both sides fought with equal obstinacy.

The foot grenadiers of the Consular guard now came up, and forming in the most orderly manner, in subdivisions, advanced against the enemy: without artillery without cavalry, to the number of five hundred only, they had to endure the brunt of a victorious army! But, not considering the smallness of their numbers, they kept advancing and forced everything to give way in their passage: the lofty Eagle hovered everywhere around them and threatened to tear them in pieces. The very first bullet which struck them laid three grenadiers and a *fourrier* dead on the ground, being in close order. Charged three times by the cavalry, fusiladed by the infantry, within fifty paces, they surrounded their colours and their wounded, and, in a hollow square, exhausted all their rounds of cartridges, and then, with slow and regular steps, fell back and joined the rear guard!

Notwithstanding many similar traits of courage the

army fought retreating in all parts: the centre gave way, and the Austrians outstretched the French and turned the right wing. General Gardanne, obliged to quit his position in the advanced guard, retreated gradually and took an oblique position. At the same moment the garrison of Tortona, discovering the almost routed condition of Victor, made a sortie; and thus the French were surrounded on every part.

The Consul, who was all the while in the centre, encouraged the remains of the gallant corps which defended the road and the defile which it crossed, shut up on one side by a wood and on the other by some bushes and vineyards, of lofty growth: the village of Marengo flanked this cruelly memorable spot to the left.

What torrents of blood were shed in that place! what numbers of brave men perished there! An invincible courage had, unceasingly, to struggle against numbers of the obstinate foe, perpetually increasing.

The French artillery, in part dismounted or taken, had but little ammunition. Thirty pieces of cannon, actively served by the enemy, cut in two both men and trees, the branches of which, in their fall, crushed to death those who were before wounded, and who had fought an insecure refuge under them.

In this awful moment, when the dead and the dying covered almost the whole field, the Consul seemed to brave death and to be near it; for the bullets were seen, more than once, to drive up the ground between his horse's legs. In the midst of warriors, who fell on every side of him, he was observed to be giving his orders with his accustomed coolness, he saw the approaching tempest without testifying any fear of it! All those who perceived him, forgetting the perils which they had to encounter, exclaimed: "If he should be killed! why does he not retire?" It is said, too, that Berthier addressed him to the same effect. The most courageous man, the man loving glory as he does, might very well be moved

without any imputation of a crime : but no, the Buonaparté of Arcola discovered no change in those moments of doubtful fortune.

Part of the ill success of the French was to be attributed to the desertion of a general, who, without authority, had quitted the command of his brigade when General Victor sent orders to him to ascend the Bornida and observe the right of the Austrians.

The village of Marengo, exposed by the retreat of Gardanne, seemed to be the prize for which both armies were fighting. General Victor, stationing successively the 1st light, the 43rd, and 96th of the line, to defend it : whilst General Gardanne, in his new position, took flank the corps marching to attack it. The Austrian ranks, swept down by a terrible fire, for a moment gave way, but encouraged by new reinforcements, continued their march.

While these movements were going on, the brigade under the command of General Kellerman, the younger, supported the left ; the 8th dragoons charged and routed a column of the Austrian cavalry, but it was charged in its turn by superior forces, and was upon the point of giving way, when the 2nd and 10th cavalry came to its assistance, and took 100 prisoners.

The left of the enemy advanced towards Castel Caciolo, whilst their centre, always receiving new reinforcements, succeeded in carrying Marengo, where they made 400 men prisoners, who had shut themselves up in a house. At this time, some of the French sharp-shooters, who had expended all their cartridges, quitting the field in disorder, the Austrians were encouraged to return to the charge, with additional impetuosity ; General Lasne charged them with success. The line uncovered in the plain, resisted the artillery and supported the charge of the Austrian cavalry, but durst not attempt to pursue them for fear of being turned. On the left, General Victor ordered a retrograde movement, and General Lasne then

found himself attacked by forces infinitely superior, and was obliged to follow the same course.

The Consul, acquainted that the reserve of General Desaix had not yet arrived hastened to the division of General Lasne, to slacken its retreat: "My lads," said he, "it is my practice to *sleep* on the field of battle." Nevertheless, the enemy advanced: the Consul wished to charge them in the rear, at the head of the 72nd demi-brigade, and ordered several movements with that view, which served to gain some time. The retreat was, however, absolutely necessary, and it was effected in good order, though under a fire of 80 pieces of cannon, which preceded the march of the Austrian columns.

The galling fire of the enemy did not shake the firmness of the French battalions; they drew close ranks, and manœuvred with the same precision as if they had been on the parade. At this moment General Berthier sent two demi-brigades to Castel Ceriolo, to charge the battalions that supported the Austrian cavalry, the centre and left continuing to retrograde.

In short, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in a line of five miles or more, there did not stand six thousand infantry to their colours, and only six pieces of cannon could be made any use of! Let not the Writer be accused of exaggeration, in painting this prodigious falling off, the cause of which are very well known. A third of the army was actually put *hors de combat*: the deficiency of carriages for removing the sick and wounded occasioned the necessity for more than another third to be occupied in this painful service: not to speak of the plausible pretext this circumstance afforded to certain individuals (of which an army always contains more or less) to absent themselves at so unseasonable a conjuncture from their respective corps. Hunger, thirst, and fatigue, had imperiously forced a great number of officers to withdraw also; and every one knows what effect the absence of

officers occasions. The *Tirailleurs* also had, for the most part, lost the direction of their corps.

Any one, who, in those circumstances, so terrible and so discouraging to the French army, might have attempted to persuade them, that in two hours from that time, they should gain the battle, take 7,000 prisoners, many general officers, 12 stands of colours, 26 pieces of artillery; have eleven strong places, in fact, all the finest part of Italy, delivered into their hands by the enemy; that, in two days, that enemy would, in an humiliated condition, file off through their ranks; that an armistice would suspend the scourge of war; such a man would have appeared, by such silly hopes and predictions, as only desirous to insult their desperate condition. How, then, were such wonders brought about? we must follow the course of our narrative.

The enemy, not being able to force the defile, upon which the greatest part of the troops had doubled, began to re-establish a most formidable line of artillery, under protection of which they threw their infantry into the vineyards and into the woods. The cavalry, drawn up in the rear, only waited the moment of the French being driven out to fall upon their dispersed ranks and hew them to pieces. Had this last event happened, all had been lost irretrievably. the Consul must have been taken or killed, and his soldiers too much dispirited to have recovered. But Victory was not far distant; faithful to Buonaparté, she came, at length, to fight with him, and to be his guide.

Already had the divisions of Mounier and Desaix begun to show themselves: notwithstanding a forced march of ten leagues they arrived on a full gallop; they forgot their wants, and only thirsted to avenge their fallen comrades. The crowd of wounded and runaways might well enough have damped their courage; but, with eyes fixed on Desaix, they only thought of sharing his dangers, and

flying to glory. Alas! they were far from thinking, that, in an hour they would cease to be commanded by this brave general. The foot grenadiers appeared again, covered with renown, and menacing, with their terrible bayonets, those who, a short time passed, had bargained for their caps beforehand. The soldiers of the legions of Bussy, had collected the caps of the grenadiers killed or wounded, and exhibited them to the French line, by twirling them round on their sabres.

The village of Castel Ceriolo was carried by the two demi-brigades of Mounier's division, who held a large body of the Austrian cavalry in check. The reserve under General Desaix, formed in two lines in the plain of St. Julian, flanked on the right by 12 pieces of artillery, commanded by General Marmont, and supported on the left by the cavalry, under the command of General Kellerman. The army rallied at St. Julian.

General Melas here committed a great fault, in changing that disposition of his forces which had procured him so much success. Finding too many obstacles in the centre, he thought, that, by extending his wings, he might surround the enemy, and thereby entirely cut him off: he, therefore, directed great part of his force to these points, imagining he had sufficiently concealed his movements. Thus, not being able to discover what passed in the French army, and ignorant of those reinforcements which had just arrived, he laid the foundation of his own disaster. In fact, Buonaparté, (always placed in the post of honour, and whose perspicacious eye nothing escaped,) seized this favourable opportunity: his orders flew every where in a moment.

As soon as the first battalion of the division of Desaix had reached the heights, that General formed it in close column. Every one kept his prescribed distance; each received particular instructions. The Consul, the General-in-Chief (Berthier,) the generals, the officers of the staff, ran through the ranks, and every where inspired

that confidence which precedes and creates great successes. This work took up an hour, which was a terrible one to pass, for the Austrian artillery was bearing cruelly upon the French ranks. Their ricochet bullets carried away with them both men and horses; the French received death amidst them in this manner without moving a step, except to close their ranks over the dead bodies of their comrades! This thundering artillery reached even the cavalry, who rallied in the rear, as well as a great number of foot soldiers of different corps, who, encouraged by Desaix's division, which they had seen pass, ran anew to the field of honour. What was now to happen had been foreseen—was calculated upon: the battalions burnt with impatience; the drummer's eye, fixed upon the drum-major's cane, waited for the signal; the trumpeter, with his arm raised up, prepared his breath! The signal was given, the terrible *pas de charge* was heard! General Desaix at the head of the brave 9th light, threw himself with impetuosity into the midst of the Austrian battalions, and charged them with the bayonet. The division of Boudet followed the same moment on the right. All the corps were put in motion at once in two lines; the tremendous fire of the French, like a torrent, carried every thing away that opposed its passage; in a few minutes the defile was freed from the enemy, who were everywhere thrown down; the dying, the living, the dead, and the wounded, were all trodden under foot.

Every chief of a battalion, as he reached the back of the defile, drew up his corps in order of battle and now the French line presented a formidable front. As fast as the pieces of cannon could be brought up, they were employed in battery, and made great havoc, by their point-blank shot, among the affrighted Austrians. These fell back in their turn, and their immense cavalry charged in a body with fury; but the bayonet stopped the infantry suddenly, and one of their powder waggons blowing up,

alarm redoubled: the rising disorder being hidden in the smoke, the exclamations of the conquerors added to the terror of the vanquished; in short, all, in a fright, gave way, and fled.

The French cavalry then rushed into the plain, and by its daring conduct concealed its smallness of number. It advanced towards the enemy without the least fear of being broken into. On the right, Desaix cleared hedges and ditches, threw down and trampled upon every thing that opposed him. To the left, Victor, his rival in swiftness, carried Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida.

The centre with less force, and the cavalry, under the orders of Murat, advanced majestically into the plain, always within half-cannon's length. Murat greatly annoyed the Austrian center, and by watching and following its movements, kept an enormous body of cavalry in check, which could only manœuvre under the fire of three eight pounders and a howitzer. The French infantry was ready to turn them, having a shorter space to run over, in order to reach the bridge, and thus cut off the principal point of their retreat. The intrepid Desaix, having obliqued to the right upon San Stefano, cut off the Austrians left wing entirely; and, in the very moment of his triumph, after having saved the army, and, perhaps, his country; the friend and the model of brave men, Desaix, received a mortal wound, from a bullet, in the head! When tidings of his death were carried to the Consul, in the heat of the battle, he exclaimed, "Why have I not time to weep!" The death of this officer, who was universally beloved, inspired the army with new ardour. To avenge his death, they fell on the second line of Austrian infantry, which met them with courageous firmness, and another terrible onset hung the victory again in long suspense; the fury of the French bayonets was met by the Austrian battalions. The younger Kellerman, with 800 horse, collected from various regiments, made

6,000 Hungarian grenadiers and others, besides Generals Zach, St. Julian, and the officers of the staff, prisoners.

Night was coming on; the troops of the Austrians in disorder; cavalry, infantry, artillery, were heaped one upon another towards the centre: in the throng many of their own men were thrown off the bridge into the river. The artillery, which they had drawn back at the commencement of their retreat, for fear that, by its being taken, it might be turned against them, was, in the present circumstances, of more injury than use to them, as it intercepted their passage. Murat, seeing the importance of precipitating their retreat, and increasing their confusion, made the French cavalry advance on a full trot; and General Lasne, who, at the head of the grenadiers of the Consular Guard and the division of Boudet marched against this line, supported by the artillery under Marmont, in a short time got before a part of the flying infantry, which had no resource but to be made prisoners or to be cut to pieces. The horse grenadiers, and the chasseurs of the Consular Guard, kept the right of the road, to the number of 200; four or five hundred men, of the 1st, 6th, 8th dragoons, and 20th of cavalry, occupied the left: Murat flew from one side to the other. The decisive moment was come: the chief-of-brigade, Bessieres, filled with the same ardour which inspired the army and exciting a desire in each corps to distinguish itself, gave orders for the trumpet to sound a charge, that they might fall upon the enemy's infantry, already out of breath.

The third line of Austrian cavalry, resolving to save the infantry, came up in column, and their rapid pace obliged the French to give loose to their reins; but they, at the same time inclined to the left, by obliquing on them. At the distance of about thirty paces was a ditch, which again separated the furious combatants: the French crossed the ditch, sword in hand, and surrounded the two first platoons in five minutes. The Austrians did but ill

defend themselves, and were, therefore, cut down or thrown into disorder. The French, at first, made no prisoners, but the dragoons took the same column in flank, and added to the general carnage. The pursuit was continued as far as a ravine, where they made a great many prisoners. The pursuit continued till the Austrian rear-guard was cut to pieces and till their whole force had arrived at the bridge of the Bormida: at length the paucity of numbers, the unfavourableness of the ground, the night setting in, and the extreme fatigue of the horses, induced the prudent Murat to think it would not be proper to expose his troops further, to increase the fruits of so successful a day's work.

General Berthier says, it was night alone that saved the Austrian army; it may be so, but it is possible that the Austrians could have borne a few hours more, of hunger and fatigue as well as the French. The two armies had, however, been fourteen hours within musket-shot of each other, and doubtless, both of them wanted repose. Victory had inclined to each side four times during the day, and 60 pieces of cannon had been, alternately, won and lost. At the close of the battle, the French had taken 12 standards, 26 pieces of cannon, and 7,000 prisoners: the Austrians had lost seven of their generals, 400 officers, with 8,000 men killed or wounded. The French lost the General Desaix, and the brother of General Watrin, killed, four generals of brigade wounded, near 800 men killed, 2,000 wounded, and 1,100 taken prisoners; Generals Chamberlin and Marmont, were wounded.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived both sides of the means of succouring all the wounded; a great number were left upon the field of battle. The Austrians and the French, now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew nearer to each other, by crawling, as well as they could, and offering or seeking mutual aid.

Every one had lain where he was found, with his knap-

sack on his back and his firelock between his limbs; horsemen, holding, as long as they could, their bridles in their hands, and sleeping, both horses and riders, without any thing to eat or drink.

The clock at Marengo struck ten, when the harassed French were returning slowly towards San Julian. Numbers, distressed with fatigue, but more for want of sleep, dosed upon their horses backs, but were, every instant, roused by the painful cries of those who were borne across firelocks or temporary hand-barrows; or of those, who, abandoned and scattered in the fields, implored their aid. Thus every humane and sensitive heart was penetrated with that melancholy to which the true soldier is no stranger, and which does him so much honour. Horses, limping here and there, upon three legs, called to them by their instinctive neighings; at every step, too, it was necessary to turn out of the way, so as to avoid treading upon the wounded. The ditches and the road often presented the scene of caissons and other carriages, as well as cannon, overturned: further off were houses devoured by the flames and tumbling upon the heads of the wretched owners, half dead by the fears which had driven them to the expedient of hiding themselves in the cellars and other subterraneous places. The total darkness which everywhere appeared made the picture additionally frightful. Prisoners, not knowing where to go, but, with the hope of escaping, wandered at random: if they were met by the French soldiers, bending under the weight of their wounded comrades, they were forced to turn back and bear those burthens on their shoulders.

"At length arrived at head-quarters, which served as the *Ambulance* of the army," says Monsieur Petit, "every one stowed himself as he could, among the dying and the dead, without the piercing cries of the former being able any longer to surmount the violence of sleep. The next morning, hunger taking its turn to prevail, I," he con-

tinues, "in a melancholy condition, entered the great court, to look for something for myself and horse to eat: I was there struck with a sight so horrible that I shuddered all over.—More than three thousand, Frenchmen and Austrians, heaped upon one another, in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most lamentable cries, blended with the severest curses against the surgeons, there being too few to dress all their wounded at once. Everywhere I heard the languishing voices of comrades, or of my particular friends, who begged of me something to eat or drink: all that I could do was to fetch them some water! In truth, forgetting my own wants and those of my horse, I staid more than two hours, running backwards and forwards, performing, by turns, the part of a surgeon and an hospital attendant.

"Prisoners were brought in from every part, which increased the number of the famished: in short, this was a day that appeared of an insupportable length to all of us!"

An event, however, occurred during this day, which made the French army acquainted with the value of the victory they had obtained.—An Austrian officer came to parley, and a French aid-de-camp set out immediately to Alexandria: Berthier went off to that place about noon, leaving all in the greatest expectation, but no one dared to hope for that, which, the next day, they knew to have been obtained.

A supply of subsistence and other necessities now began to arrive, as well as carriages for the conveyance of the sick: a fraternal partition of these comforts was made among all the victims of that bloody day. Without any inquietude or jealousy the Austrian was seen with the Frenchman, who, two days before, would have cut one another's throats! they were seen to receive, from the same hands, under the same roof, in the same chamber, the required help, and the urgent care of succouring humanity!

It may not be improper to introduce in this place a few remarks upon the battle, as they were given shortly afterwards, by a French writer, who served in the Consular guard.

"We, nevertheless, had many complaints to make against the Austrians," says Monsieur Petit; "and it may be said, that, in the whole course of this long and terrible war against liberty, but especially in the day of the battle of Marengo, and those which preceded it, they did not shew that regard for the French which a generous enemy always feels for a valiant, though conquered, foe. During twelve hours, that they had the upper hand of us; could it be believed that they made only eleven hundred prisoners, of which twenty-five were of the Consular guard! They must, necessarily, have had many more; but, inflated with their success (as they always are) they did not imagine that we should ever be able to bring back victory to our standards;—they treated us without mercy.

"The priests of Alexandria manifested a baseness and cruelty towards us, for which it may be proper to mark their foreheads with the seal of ignominy. In the beginning of the action some French prisoners were conducted to Alexandria: the priests announced their entry by ringing the bells; cries of 'Victory!' and the enthusiasm of joy assailed the prisoners. As far as that event, however, it is lawful, since they may be allowed to prefer the Austrian to the Frenchmen; but they dared to call us names, and even to strike the unfortunate, who had not the means of self-defence, and even exhibited poinards to them! And these are well-instructed civilized men, imbued with a sacred religion, who give way to such excesses. But mark—these same men, two hours after (events had changed the face of things) dared to offer to shake hands with us! Nothing is more shocking than the eagerness with which the Austrian strips off the spoil of his prisoner: not one among us preserved his sack, his hat, his cravat, or his shoes: they snatched from many

Frenchmen the rings out of their ears, without giving them time to unlock them. We are positively assured also (how revolting!) that they sabred several of our comrades three or four hours after they had been taken; and it is added, that this is no uncommon case among them. It will be readily admitted, that, after such information given to us, it was well for them they were exchanged the next day.

"How ought they to blush, in seeing with what lenity and good-nature we conducted them to Milan! not one was struck or insulted; all preserved their little effects, and they followed the route as they pleased, attended quietly by only a handful of Frenchmen.

"But let us console ourselves for those acts of barbarism we have mentioned, by the recital of a trait of generous humanity: A chasseur on foot, belonging to the Consular guard, full of wounds, lay, almost dead, in the field of battle, at the moment of our retreat. Some soldiers of Bussy's legion surrounded him and disputed among themselves for his spoils: nothing was left undisposed of but his coat, which they had already stripped him of, when an Austrian colonel, by chance, came up, and driving away these inhuman fellows with his cane, asked the soldier, whom he at first took for an officer, to what corps he belonged. 'I belong to the guard of the Consul, whom you see before you,' replied the Chasseur. The Colonel, after paying a compliment to that body of men, had his surgeon called, and the wounded prisoner was dressed in his presence and carried to the *Ambulance*. Some hours after, when they fell back, in their turn, this well-behaved officer came again, to offer him his service to carry him to Alexandria. The Chasseur, who saw his deliverance near, thanked him for his generous care and concern, while he represented, that his wounds were too serious to allow him to bear the motion of the conveyance. In a short time after he found himself in the midst of his comrades.

"In a moment when our weapons were about to clash with those of the enemy, an Austrian horseman, thrown down, lifted up his hands towards us, and begged us not to trample him to death with our horses. Bessières, chief-of-brigade, perceived him: "My friends!" he cried out to us, "open your ranks; let us spare this unfortunate man!" How many similar traits, so familiar to Frenchmen, are forgotten!

"It may be said that Marengo is the glorious patrimony of all the brave men who fought there: there is no one corps, scarce a single soldier, who has not there gathered some sprigs of laurel. But, as I consider myself engaged to recount all I have seen and been satisfactorily informed of, I shall just touch on two or three occurrences, which could not well enter into the body of my Narrative. The modesty of the General-in-Chief has made him silent, in his Report, concerning the dangers which he ran; such as, that he had his cloaths pierced through, and that he, more than once, saw death making way on every side of him. If we call to mind, at the same time, that his adversary, General Melas, had a contusion in his arm and two horses killed under him, we may thence easily judge what efforts the two armies made, when the chiefs thus exposed themselves for their country's welfare and their glory.

"Who would not wish to have fought in the 96th demi-brigade! who would not willingly have been in the ranks with the formidable grenadiers, like the Greeks sustaining the efforts of the whole Persian army at the Strait of Thermopylæ—with the 6th light, the 28th of the line, the 40th, 44th, 50th, &c. &c.! who can enumerate almost as many battles they have fought as they have been days in Italy.

"What charges were made and withstood by our cavalry! what boldness and what concentration of action in the 20th regiment of cavalry concealed and made up for the weakness of its numbers! what intrepidity in the eight

hundred cavalry of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 21st and 43rd regiments, conducted by the younger Kellerman, who made six thousand grenadiers, chased 1000s of the enemy, lay down their arms, and by whose success an uncertain victory was secured! Our artillery was spread in very small numbers and still less provided for; but how many of these inconveniences, owing to circumstances, were ably repaired by the manner in which they were disposed, by the prodigies they operated, in order, as it were, to multiply themselves! In every place where necessity called them—always in battery, at forty paces in front, they braved the fire of triple, nay quadruple, the weight of the enemy's metal: and they levelled and fired with *sang-froid*, justness, and promptitude!—But it was Marmont who had the direction of them!

“ The loss of the Consular guard was considerable only in infantry: in five hundred men there were two hundred and fifty-eight killed or put *hors-de-combat*. The cavalry, out of two hundred, had a tenth of that number in killed and wounded, and about as many horses were disabled. The light artillery was almost all dismounted, and the train-horses killed; but, by an unexampled good fortune, only one man was absolutely killed and but a very few wounded.

“ After a slight examination (the best I was enabled to make of our respective forces) I judged the French army, at the moment the battle commenced, to have been composed of from forty to forty-five thousand men, of which three thousand were cavalry; that it had from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon, in which were two companies of light artillery.

“ The Austrian army, according to the accounts of the best informed persons, contained, in spite of the loss in in their preceding battles, and those garrisons which we took from them, and which kept the places still in their power—their army, after all these deductions, I observe,

might still contain from fifty-five to sixty thousand men, including the reinforcements which had just arrived from Genoa. From fifteen to eighteen thousand of these were cavalry; and they had more than fourscore pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggons, well provided, besides an immense train of army implements and equipage! All the world knows we were not much encumbered with these last mentioned articles; and that, for want of caissons, we were obliged to put our ammunition upon tumbrils drawn by oxen, and that the little we brought into action in this manner was soon exhausted.

"It is not to be concealed that this victory cost the Republic dear, by the loss of a great number of its defenders and one of its ablest generals; but let it be considered, that it was necessary it should be obtained, to save the South from a certain invasion, and France, perhaps, from a frightful devastation."

The whole loss of the enemy in the course of this rapid campaign, including 1,500 sick, found in the hospitals—as many killed—and the prisoners taken since the descent from St. Bernard, was 60,000! a loss, which, however enormous, is not exaggerated.

After enjoying one night's repose the victorious army were made acquainted with the joyful intelligence of an armistice being agreed upon by the French and Austrian generals.

Buonaparté immediately announced the event to the Consuls in a Letter, containing the terms of the Convention.

THE FIRST CONSUL TO THE REPUBLIC.

"Garofolo, June 14.

"CITIZENS CONSULS,

"THE day after the battle of Marengo General Melas requested of the advanced posts permission to send General Shill to me. In the course of the day the subjoined Convention was agreed upon; it was signed, during the night, by General Berthier and General Melas. I hope the French people will be satisfied with the army.

"BUONAPARTE."

The morning after the memorable battle the generals entered into the Treaty, of which the following are the Articles:

CONVENTION

entered into by the GENERALS in CHIEF of the FRENCH and IMPERIAL ARMIES in ITALY.

ART. 1. "THERE shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities between the armies of his Imperial Majesty, and that of the French Republic in Italy, until an answer is received from the Court of Vienna.

2. "The army of his Imperial Majesty shall occupy all the country comprised between the Mincio and Fossa-Maestra and the Po; that is to say, Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and thence the whole left bank of the Po, and on the right bank the city and citadel of Ferrara.

3. "The army of his Imperial Majesty shall also occupy Tuscany and Ancona.

4. "The French army shall occupy the country comprised between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po.

5. "The country between the Chiesa and the Mincio shall not be occupied by either of the two armies. The army of his Imperial Majesty may draw subsistence for his troops from those parts of this country which made part of the Duchy of Mantua. The French army shall draw subsistence from those countries which made a part of the province of Brescia.

6. "The castles of Tortona, of Alexandria, of Milan, of Turin, of Pizzighitone, of Arona, and of Piacentia, shall be put into the hands of the French army between the 27th of Prairial and the 1st of Messidor; i. e. from the 16th to the 20th of June.

7. "The place of Coni, the castles of Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, shall also be put into the hands of the French army between the 16th and 24th of June, or 27th Prairial and 2nd Messidor.

8. "The fort Urbino shall be put into their hands the 26th of June, 7th Messidor.

9. "The artillery of the places shall be classed in the following manner.—First, all the artillery of the Austrian calibre and founderies shall belong to the Austrian army.—Secondly, That of the Italian, Piedmontese, and French calibre and foundery shall belong to the French army.—Thirdly, The provisions and forage shall be shared between them; the one half at the disposal of the directing commissary of the French army, the other half at the disposal of the directing commissary of the Austrian army.

10. "The garrisons shall march out with military honours, and repair, with arms and baggage, by the shortest rout to Mantua.

11. "The Austrian army shall repair to Mantua by Placentia, in three columns; the first between the 27th of Prairial and 1st of Messidor (from the 16th to the 20th of June;) the second between the 1st and the 5th of Messidor (from the 20th to the 24th of June;) the third between the 5th to the 7th of Messidor (or from the 24th to the 25th of June.)

12. "The generals St. Julien, of Schevertinch, of the Artillery; Brun, of the Engineers; Telsiege, Commissary of Provisions; and the citizens Dejean, Counsellor of State, and Daru, Inspector of Revenues; Adjutant-general Leopold Stabenzath; and Mosset, the Chief of Brigade of Artillery, are named commissaries for carrying the present Convention into effect, whether in relation to the forming of inventories, providing subsistence or conveyances for the troops, or for any other object.

13. "No individual shall be ill-treated on account of any service rendered the Austrian army, or for any political opinions. The Austrian General engages to release all persons in the strong places under his command, who may have been taken up in the Cisalpine Republic for political opinions.

14. "Whatever may be the answer from Vienna, neither of the armies shall attack the other till after giving ten days previous notice.

15. "During the suspension of arms neither of the armies shall send detachments into Germany.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER BERTHIER, L. S.
"MELAS, General of Cavalry, L. S.

"Alexandria, 26th Prairial (15th of June 1800.)"

The same day the French prisoners were restored, and the Consul set out for Milan.—Before his departure he made General Melas a present of a Turkish sabre, brought from Egypt. The latter said to Lacuée, Buonaparté's aid-de-camp, who delivered it to him: "I am sorry that peace has been so long delayed; I shall contribute my efforts to obtain it, that I may go and see Buonaparté at Paris: I would even go to see him in Egypt."

The citadel of Milan agreeing to surrender, the garrison, four thousand in number, marched out with the honours of war. Those troops, consisting of the regiments of Rohan and Bussy, were principally composed of French prisoners, who had been taken in the retreat of

Scherer; and many of them deserted to the Consular standard.

General Melas and his staff left Alexandria on the 18th, with the first column of his army, amounting to 10,000 men, for Mantua, by the way of Voghera, Stradella, Placentia, and Parma; his baggage forming a train of 4,000 carriages! the other divisions of the army followed him.

The French army found at Tortona 120 pieces of cannon; at Alexandria they found 200 pieces; and everywhere a proportionate quantity, with rich magazines of ammunition and provisions.

On the 20th June the army from Genoa reached their comrades at Milan; and, all together, received the expression of national gratitude, offered to them by their Country, in the following

ADDRESS

From the MINISTER of WAR to the GENERAL IN CHIEF of the ARMIES of the REPUBLIC.

" I LOSE no time, Citizen General, in transmitting to you, by order of the Consuls, the Arrêtes which the Conservative Senate and the Tribunate have come to, on occasion of the memorable Battle of Marengo.

" Fame has blazed, throughout all France, the details of that victory, which, by submitting to our power, in one day, almost all the fortresses in Italy, has decided the fate of that part of Europe. The Army of Reserve has obtained this glory—it has fulfilled its destiny—it has achieved every thing that could be expected from it, even with the First Consul at its head, and being commanded, as it was, by the old companions of his first exploits! Such is the glory of that day, that all the armies of the Republic will boast of having taken a share in it—they will all be proud of having drawn from their bosoms those columns, who, swollen in their numbers by the conscripts, that flocked together at the call of honour to the country, have formed that army, which, under an unassuming name, went forth, and conquered both Italy and peace.

" The victory of Marengo threw out a signal to the army of the Rhine; it was attended to by that army, and answered by new successes.

" But, in this conflux of victories, the whole of France, as well as

the Army of Reserve, deploring the loss of General Desaix, with whose exploits both Europe and Asia resound, and whose virtues are regretted by every well constituted mind.

" If there be any sentiment that can assuage the bitterness of those regrets, it is the pleasing reflection, that the victory, to which he contributed by the loss of his life, may be regarded as the forerunner of a glorious and solid peace: the armistice granted by the Chief Consul is the first step towards it. The wish expressed by France is on the eve of being accomplished; and her First Magistrate has again acquired the title of Conqueror only to begin to unite with it that of Pacificator.

" Health and fraternity,

" CARNOT."

At Milan Buonaparté endeavoured to make himself agreeable to his devotees as well as to his heroes: he gratified the latter by ordering Proclamations, and the former by ordering *Te Deums*; and they, in return, were willing to compliment him as the Grand Consul.

THE END OF CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

Proceedings of the Army of the Rhine....Convention between Austria and Great Britain....Further Preparations on the part of France....Armistice in Germany.

NO provision was made by the Convention of Alexandria for extending the armistice to the armies on the Rhine, whose operations had not been of a very extensive kind during the time that the campaign in Italy had lasted.

It was a most material point with Moreau, that he should be able to maintain his position; and, had he ventured to pass into the Austrian States before the fate of Italy was decided, the issue might not have conferred upon him the fame due to intrepidity and courage, but have stigmatized him with the obloquy due to temerity and presumption. The general was not, however, wholly unemployed during this interval, as it must have required much time and attention to organize and enforce the demand of a very extensive requisition of horses and cattle, beside large contributions in money, from the territories of which he had gained possession: viz. from the Landgrave of Furstenburg 500,000 florins; from the town of Uberlingue 30,000; from Memmingen 60,000 from Biberach 45,000; from Bushorn 30,000; from Ravensburg 30,000; from Pfullendorf 20,000; from Salmansweil 100,000; from St. Blaise 200,000; from the Abbey Buchan 50,000; from Althausen 50,000; from Schaffenvied 25,000; from the Abbey of Weissenau 25,000, and from Wangen 50,000!

The Austrians, on the side of Switzerland, attempted to harrass that wing of Moreau's army, and so far succeeded, that General Legrand received a considerable check in the Blue Valley; timely reinforcement, however,

obliged the Austrians to keep themselves on the defensive, and a large part of the French force, under General St. Suzanne, advanced towards Ulm, where a most sanguinary action took place with General Starray, who was obliged to retire under the walls, and shelter himself under that fortress.

The question of peace or war became peculiarly interesting to the French, as it now depended upon the movements of Moreau's army; and the poignancy of public curiosity induced the Government to announce every event, as it occurred, in the form of a bulletin of operations. Carnot published the first of those documents, in the form of a Report, from General Moreau to the First Consul, of the battle of Hochstadt; and from that dispatch an accurate idea may be formed of the state of the contending armies at the time the negotiations commenced.

ARMY OF THE RHINE.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from GENERAL MOREAU, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the ARMY of the RHINE, to the MINISTER of WAR.

Neresheim, June 24, 8th year.

" I SEND you a Copy of my report to the First Consul of the battle of Hochstedt. M. de Kray has quitted Ulm. Our success was of the utmost importance, but it was with difficulty obtained. Imagine the passage of a river without boats, without the means of constructing bridges; in short, without any thing but swimmers and courage.

(Signed) " MOREAU.

For an exact copy.

(Signed) " CARNOT."

GENERAL MOREAU to the FIRST CONSUL.

Head-quarters at Dillingen, June 22, 8th year.

" Citizen Consul, we have forced M. de Kray to quit Ulm. So decided a success has given us the double advantage of soon determining the fate of Germany, and revenging the French name. I trust it will have some influence in the negotiations which your victories in Italy will produce.

" Seeing that the Austrian army maintained their camp at Ulm, which afforded them the means of advancing on the two banks of the Danube, and consequently of preventing our making any progress of

consequence in Germany; not wishing to give them battle at Blau-beuren, fearing lest they should profit by my movement to proceed against Memmingen, unite to the Tyrol, and send down a corps into Italy, which would have much molested us, I resolved General Lecourbe should manœuvre on the Lech, hoping by that means to force General Kray to come and cover Bavaria; but he manœuvred in our rear. The battle of the 5th, which he lost, forced him to repass the Danube.

"I then determined to pass that river below Ulm, to separate him by that means from his magazines at Donawert and Ratisbonne, and thus force him to fight us. This movement was difficult and dangerous. We had not the means of constructing bridges, nor boats to cross it. The enemy had destroyed the former, and sunk the latter.—I reinforced the corps of General Lecourbe with five battalions and five regiments of cavalry, and I ordered him to obtain possession of one of the bridges on the Danube, between Dillingen and Donawert.

"This General executed the movement with a degree of courage worthy every praise. After having secured the posts of Landsberg and Augsburg, and having left the necessary troops there to protect his rear against the corps of the Prince de Reuss, stationed in the Tyrol, and which Generals Nansouti and Molitor have beaten every time it has made its appearance, he approached Dillingen, Blenheim, and Hochstedt.

"I had directed the corps of General Grenier—the right to the Danube and the left to K SENDEN. General RICHEPANSÉ, placed on the two banks of the Iller, covered the road from Ulm to Memmingen, and protected our communications with Helvetia, which parties of the enemy had greatly interrupted. The three divisions of reserve, under my orders, were between the Camblac and the Mandel, destined to support the attack of General Lecourbe, and that which General Grenier was to make against Guntzbourg, if the first failed.

"The army was thus situated on the 18th of June. After several engagements we forced the enemy to retreat to Ulm.—General Lecourbe on this day informed us of his having obtained possession of the bridge of Dillingen, and we determined seriously to attempt, on the next day, to gain those of GRENSEHEIM, BLENHEIM, and HOCHSTEDT.

"Eighty naked swimmers, armed with muskets and cut-throats, which they drew after them in three little boats, obtained possession of the villages of Grensheim and Blenheim, took the pieces of cannon, which had been served by the cannoneers who had been placed at the cut of the bridge, and, maintaining themselves with extraordinary valour, while the pioneers and pontooneers laboured under the fire of the enemy, with a valour equal to their activity, in

repairing the bridges, on which they passed succours, to oppose the reinforcements which the enemy sent towards those points, which they could not doubt were the object of attack.

“ The 94th demi-brigade passed after the swimmers, and courageously obtained possession of the villages of Grensheim and Blenheim, Langenau and Schavingen, where General Marigni was slightly wounded. But this demi-brigade would have had much difficulty in supporting itself in these villages, notwithstanding its prodigious valour, without an extremely vigorous charge of two squadrons of the 1st regiment of carabineers, commanded by Citizen Grimblot: they passed, one by one, over the bridge of Grensheim.—A squadron of the 8th of hussars, of the escort of General Lecourbe, had joined them.—They cut to pieces a corps of the enemy’s cavalry, thrice their number, took six pieces of cannon, 250 horses, and several standards: Four pieces of artillery, which were brought up to reinforce them, were also taken away. The corps which came from Donawert was almost wholly destroyed; the brigade of General Laval began the pursuit: he stopped to oppose the corps which had come from Hochstedt, Dillingen, and Lavingen. After several charges, in which the carabineers, cuirassiers, the 9th and the 6th of cavalry, and the 9th of hussars, distinguished themselves, they took about 2,000 men, with their cannon and standards.

“ The enemy’s forces were considerably augmented. The troops began to arrive from Ulm, and the bridges of Dillingen and Lavingen having been re-established, allowed the divisions of Decaen and Grandjean to join them with their cavalry, and to assist in a final charge of 4,000 horses, who drove the enemy beyond the Drenz, and rendered us masters of the position beyond Gundelfingen.

“ The 6th chasseurs, the 13th cavalry, the 4th hussars, and the 11th chasseurs, distinguished themselves in this affair.—The remainder of this division and that of General Leclerc, rapidly passed the Danube, and, on their arrival, formed themselves in such a manner as was best adapted to enable them to resist the efforts which we presumed the enemy would make next day. General Grenier was also prepared to pass the Danube at Gunzburg; but they had previously cut away the arches of the bridge, had placed on the part on their side, straw, pitch, and other combustibles, in order to burn it at the moment of our attack. Scarcely had they executed their intention, than they beheld our swimmers in the water: some of the latter had the boldness to attempt to extinguish the flames under the fire of the enemy: but that was impossible. The next day the corps of General Grenier advanced against Lavingen. General Richepanse was preparing to invest Ulm when the enemy’s army abandoned it, leaving behind merely a garrison.

"These combats have taken place on the famous theatre of war, Hochstedt. General Lecourbe, who has evinced on this occasion extraordinary courage and talents, has been perfectly seconded by Generals Gudin, Montichard Despau, Laval, Schiner, and Putod. The corps of cavalry, which I have mentioned to have been directed by General Hautpoult and Devigne, has performed prodigies of valour. The conduct of the swimmers, commanded by Citizen Degrometri, adjutant of the 94th demi-brigade, is an instance of intrepidity of which there are few examples. Citizens Caban and Galboi directed the artillery with infinite skill and bravery.

"The Chief of the etat major will give you a more detailed account of this affair; he will name those to whom I have promised honorary muskets. I send you the standards by Citizen Varelay, aid-de-camp of General Lecourbe, who has distinguished himself, and by the Commander of the swimmers. The 1st light, the 7th, the 1st battalion of the 46th and the 1st of the 5th, as well as the 14th; in short, all who have fought, have given repeated proofs of bravery.

"The loss of the enemy, without reckoning killed and wounded, is about 5,000 prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, and five standards.

"The next day, the 6th regiment of chasseurs took a convoy of 300 waggons, laden with grain. M. de Kray has quitted Ulm, and it is said is marching to give us battle. We hope to meet him half way

From an exact Copy. (Signed)

"MOREAU."

(Signed)

"CARNOT."

Minister of War."

Such a rapid succession of defeats left the Emperor of Germany no choice between an immediate peace or an entire subjugation; but, unfortunate as he has uniformly been, the *mal-adroit* genius of the Allies threw itself in the way, and tempted him to encrease his embarrassments, by concluding a new convention with Great Britain just before he received intelligence of the battle of Marengo. When Buonaparté's new overtures reached Vienna, the English were pressing the exhausted resources of the Empire for new struggles; and, it will appear by the treaty, that the unhappy Francis could hardly have broken an alliance so recently formed, without an apparent sacrifice of honour, that must have given a refined mind more pain than it could be expected to submit to.

CONVENTION

Between his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and the EMPEROR of the ROMANS:

" His Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Majesty the King of Great Britain, have judged, that it was conformable to the interest of their crowns, and to the good of the common cause, to concert with each other on the best manner of giving effect to the union of their efforts against the common enemy in the present campaign. In consequence of which; the Baron de Thugut, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen, his Imperial Majesty's Minister of Conferences, and Commissary-General and Minister Plenipotentiary in his provinces of Italy, Istria, Dalmatia, &c. and the Right Hon. Gilbert, Lord Minto, Peer of Great Britain, one of his Britannic Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and his Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Vienna, being furnished on the part of their aforesaid Imperial and Britannic Majesties, with the powers requisite for discussing and arranging this important object; the said Plenipotentiaries, after having respectively exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ART. I. In order to relieve the pressing necessities of the finances of his Imperial Majesty, under the enormous expenses already incurred, and which remain to be incurred during the present campaign, his Britannic Majesty shall advance to his above mentioned Imperial Majesty, by way of loan, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* sterling. This sum shall be divided into three parts, and paid at three different periods, preferably in specie; so that the first-third of 666,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* shall be paid in the first days of the month of July; the second third of the like sum in the first days of September; and the remaining third in the first days of the month of December.

ART. II. During the whole continuance of the war, and during the six months which shall follow the conclusion of a peace between Austria and France, his Imperial Majesty shall not be bound to pay any interest upon the sum of two millions advanced as stipulated in the preceding article, Great Britain consenting to take this charge upon her own account until the period above mentioned. But on the expiration of the term of six months after the conclusion of peace, his Imperial Majesty shall pay for the future to the British Government, or to the individuals who shall be pointed out by the British Government, an annual rent or annual rents, making altogether the amount of the interest of the two millions advanced; which interest shall be calculated at the same rate as the interest of the loan made on account of the British Government in the present year. His Imperial Majesty shall moreover pay annually to the British Government the sum of 20,000*l.*

sterling at two periods; that is to say, 10,000*l* every six months, which sum shall be employed in the successive purchase and reduction of the principal of the two millions, according to the method adopted by the British Government in its own loans.

“ III. Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties mutually promise each other to carry on the war against the French Republic, during the present campaign, with all possible vigour, and to employ in it all their respective means by land and sea, concerting together, as occasion shall require, on the most advantageous manner of reciprocally employing their forces by land and sea to the support of their operations against the common enemy. His Imperial Majesty shall be careful to complete his armies of Germany and of Italy in proportion to the losses which they have sustained, in order always, as far as possible, to act against the common enemy with the same number of effective men, conformably to the statement which this Imperial Majesty caused to be confidentially communicated to the British Government on the opening of the campaign.

“ IV. The Bavarian troops, those of Wurtemberg, and the Swiss regiments in the pay of Great Britain, shall be at the disposition of his Imperial Majesty, to form a part of his army in Germany, and to be employed there in operations against the enemy in conformity to the conventions and capitulations concluded on this subject by the King of Great Britain. His Britannic Majesty shall take the necessary measures for the further reinforcement of the army of his Imperial Majesty in Germany by as great a number as possible of German and Swiss troops.

“ V. Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties engage, during the whole continuance of the present Convention, not to make a separate peace with the French Republic, without the previous and express consent of each other. They engage likewise not to treat with the enemy, nor to receive from him any overtures either for a private peace, or for a general pacification, without making, mutually, communications of them with openness, and acting in every respect in perfect concert.

“ VI. The duration of the present Convention is fixed for the term of one year, to be computed from the 1st of March, 1800, until the end of February 1801. From the month of December, and immediately after the acquittal of the last payment of the stipulated advances, the two High Contracting Parties shall enter into deliberation and confidential explanation upon the determinations that they may think necessary to adopt for the future, according to circumstances, and their mutual convenience.

“ VII. The present Convention shall be ratified in due form by their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, and the respective ratifica-

tions shall be exchanged at Vienna in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

" In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, have, in their names, signed the present Convention, and have affixed thereunto the seal of our arms.

" Done at Vienna, the 20th of June, in the year 1800.

(L. S.)

" LE BARON DE THUGUT.

(L. S.)

" MINTO.

Whilst the Emperor had to maintain a kind of double conflict, between honour and interest with England, and between inclination and interest with France, there was every motive to induce him to get the benefits of the armistice extended, if possible, to Germany. General Moreau expected that such an attempt would be made, and he resolved to push his way to Vienna, unless a peace were frankly and speedily concluded. He says, in a dispatch to the Minister of War, dated Augsburg, June 29,

The COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the ARMY of the RHINE to the MINISTER AT WAR.

" THE enemy, Citizen Minister, wished to prevent us from penetrating by the Rain, and had united his army at Neubourg. As in his retreat he had gained a march on us, and we had three defiles to pass—Vernitz, the Danube, and the Lech, where the repairing of the bridge required nearly twelve hours, the general movement was retarded: the corps, however, of General Lecourbe, was able to pass in the evening of the 26th. On the 27th he advanced into Bavaria, the division of General Gudin to Poetmest, and that of General Montrichard to Neubourg.

" The latter found at Oberhausen a considerable body of the enemy, commanded by General Kray, who in person began an obstinate combat. General Lecourbe hastened hither at the moment when our troops were forced to yield to triple forces, and maintained the combat till the arrival of the brigade of General Grandjean, who passed the Lech, and advanced with great rapidity to support the division of Montrichard, who was still maintaining himself by his great valour.

" A battalion of the 14th light, two of the 46th of the line, and two of the 57th, attacked the enemy with an intrepidity of which there have been but few instances. The enemy was defeated notwithstanding.

ing his great forces, and during the night effected his retreat to Ingolstadt, along both banks of the Danube, after burning the bridge of Neubourg. The brave Chief of the 46th, Forti, and the first grenadier of the Republic, Lateure d'Auvergne, who combated in the ranks of the first company of that corps, were killed, as well as two other captains. All the troops performed prodigies. The 84th, the 37th, the 109th, and a battalion of the 10th light, forming the division of Montrichard, withstood the efforts of almost the whole Austrian army till the arrival of reinforcements. The Austrian Generals said at Neubourg, when they retired, "This army is invincible; the French never fought so well." There were also some charges of cavalry by the 4th and 9th hussars, and the chasseurs of the 11th, who displayed particular instances of bravery, an account of which will be given you by the Chief of the Staff. You will also, forthwith, receive interesting details respecting our marches and battles of Neuresheim and Nordlingen, and the attempt made by the enemy to bring us to a negotiation for an armistice, under a pretence of the Convention, entered into by the armies of Italy, and which would have given them time to establish themselves in Bavaria. This I foresaw, and General Decaen set out with his division, by forced marches, for Munich, which he entered yesterday morning.

(Signed)

"MOREAU."

The situation of the Emperor was now truly alarming; for the French were preparing to take General Kray in flank and rear, that, by cutting off his retreat to the Hereditary States, they might surround him in a manner similar to that which had been employed for the destruction of Melas. The General, however, avoided the danger by a hasty retreat to the frontiers of the Circle of Austria, in order to defend the Hereditary States; but after Moreau had fixed his head-quarters, he pushed his advanced guard along the Iser, in pursuit of the Austrian commander, who, abandoning Landshut, on the 2nd of July, effected the passage of the Inn, and established his head-quarters at Brannau. The French, on the same day, appeared on the left bank of that river, whilst another division of the Republican army reached Neustadt at the same time, situated on the South side of the Danube, 21 miles East of Ingolstadt, where they experienced no opposition. Klenau, at the head of 7,000 men, found him-

self incapable of resisting the impetuosity of the French, amounting to 13,000 men, and therefore retreated under the walls of Ratisbon (20 miles North-east of Newstadt) while General Stzarray stationed himself at Wurtzburg, situated on the Maine, in the circle of Franconia, and bishopric of the same name, to defend Bohemia against the attacks of Susanne, who was penetrating into Franconia in that direction, and soon to be joined by Angereau from Holland, at the head of 15,000 men. Grenier proceeded to Nuremberg, which place he entered on the 7th of July, with a view to watch the motions of General Stzarray. Two days after this, Suzanne passed the Maine, but in his attempts to penetrate to Aschaffenberg he was finally repulsed.

That division of Moreau's army, which was commanded by Lecourbe, suddenly made a retrograde movement, ascended the Lech, and formed a junction at Kempton with General Molitor, made himself master of Feldkirch, Coire, (both in the Rheinthal), and the whole of the Grisons, and united with the army of Italy, a part of which, under the orders of Moncey, had gained possession of the Valteline. In this manner was a free communication established between the army of Germany and that of Italy, from the river Danube to the Mediterranean; their centre defended by Switzerland, their two wings by the gulph of Genoa on the right, and the Danube on the left, they were everywhere fortified by advantageous positions.

Berthier had now encreased the Army of Reserve 150,000, which being unemployed in Italy, he was ready to pour into Germany as Moreau might require them; yet it will appear by the following Letter of the Minister of War, that the Government was eager to increase it still further, as if all the dangers of the campaign were to be provided against.

The MINISTER of WAR to the PREFECTS and GENERALS.

" CITIZENS,

Paris, July 7.

" THE First Consul, in the name of Peace, requests your utmost solicitude, with regard to the departure of the Conscripts, who have not obeyed the voice of honour.

" When, before the opening of the campaign, the First Consul proposed Peace to several powers, those powers, then elated by some advantages they had gained, wished, doubtless, to make a last effort, in order to profit by their momentary success, or, at least, to try what a new government could effect.

" Now that this government has received, in so short an interval, that conformation which other governments have required ages to obtain; now, while Europe beholds the pledges of its force and its wisdom; while victory and fortune crown its efforts; while its victorious armies defend it; and repeated declarations of assent, from the whole nation, have highly consecrated it; these same powers will surely not reject a Peace which is offered to them anew; on conditions which their reverses have not rendered more severe. Should, however, the obstinacy of the vanquished disregard the moderation of the victors; notwithstanding the cries of their people, should these deluded governments not yet become tired of remaining in the pay of a power which traffics in the blood of men and the miseries of all nations, for the purpose of her own aggrandizement; should they venture to prolong hostilities from which she alone profits, a last effort must be made, and we must command that Peace which we now offer.

" It is necessary that the enemy should know that this blow is about to be struck; it is necessary that they should choose either peace or a terrible and decisive irruption. A second Army of Reserve is organizing at the same place whence the first took its departure. Old corps are assembling there, tried warriors command them, and young conscripts crowd to join them from all parts of France, where honour, a love of national independence, and a desire of peace, are not empty words. They glow with the wish of joining their brethren, whom glorious achievements have already placed on a level with the ancient favourites of Victory. They are eager to contribute to the termination of the war, to see service, and to assist in some grand exploit, that they may not, one day, have occasion to blush in the company of those heroes who will people our communes.

" Generals and Prefects, cite this example to those youths whom

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a shameful indolence and an unpardonable indifference, more than a dread of arms, still retain in their habitations. The French youth are entirely warlike; to arouse them, it is sufficient merely to talk of dangers and glory. In the army every conscript soon becomes a veteran: the regret of quitting his family is the sole sentiment which stops him. Inspire a more powerful sentiment, the love of country, and these same young men will no longer think but of returning victorious.

" They will return, and Peace will accompany their steps; it is already more than half conquered. One effort more, if it be necessary; it will be short and easy, if it be but general; it will be rendered unnecessary, if we are seen in an attitude to make it; and the hands which still wield a sword will drop it, in order to sign a treaty of friendship.—I salute you.

(Signed) " CARNOT."

The French now occupied such an immense frontier, that the Emperor had not a moment to lose; another defeat might place the enemy in view of the Capital; and, under these circumstances, that Prince was compelled to agree to an armistice, a prelude to a definitive peace. The first three articles relate only to the powers of the plenipotentiaries and the line of demarcation, and the substance of the Armistice was as follows:

" IV. The fortresses comprised within the line of demarcation, which are still occupied by the Imperial troops, shall remain, in all respect, in their present condition, which shall be ascertained by Commissioners appointed to that effect, by Generals in Chief of both armies. No addition shall be made to their means of defence, and they shall not interrupt the free navigation of the rivers and communications passing within the limits of their command, which are fixed at two thousand toises from the body of the place. Their supplies shall be renewed every ten days only, and in the proportion of their regular consumption. These supplies shall not be drawn from the districts occupied by the French army, which, on its part, shall not prevent their arrival.

" V. The General in Chief of the Imperial army may send an Officer into each of those fortresses, to inform the Commandants of the conduct they are to hold, in conformity to the preceding article.

" VI. There shall be no bridges across the rivers which separate

the two armies, but where they are intersected by the line of demarcation, in which case, the bridges shall be in the rear of that line; with the exception of particular arrangements which may be afterwards deemed necessary, either for the accommodation of the respective armies, or for the purposes of commerce. The Generals in Chief of the two armies shall come to an explanation upon these points.

" VII. Wherever navigable rivers separate the two armies, the navigation, whether for their benefit or that of the inhabitants, shall not be interrupted by either army; and wherever there are causeways from the line of demarcation, they shall be used by both armies for the conveyance of their supplies during the armistice.

" VII. The portion of the territory of the Empire, and of the States of his Imperial Majesty, comprehended within the line of demarcation of the French army, is put under the safeguard of its honour, with respect to maintaining the rights of property, and the present forms of the governments of the different States. The inhabitants of those countries shall not be called to an account for the services they may have performed to the Imperial army, for their political opinions, nor for their having taken an active part in the war.

" IX. This Convention shall be speedily transmitted to all the Commanders of corps belonging to the two armies; in order that hostilities shall not only be suspended, but that the execution of it may be immediately commenced, and be effected at a period absolutely necessary, taking into consideration the respective distances. Officers of the Staff shall be respectively charged with determining on the spot the demarcation of limits as to points where the general terms would leave anything doubtful.

" X. There shall be no communication between the advanced posts of the two armies.

Interchanged at Larsdorff, 15th July, 1800.

(Signed)

" V. F. LAHORIE.

Brigadier-General."

" Count DIETRICHTEIN, Major General,
and Engineer in the Service of his Imperial Majesty."

(A true Copy)

" DESOLLIES,

General of Division, and Chief of the Staff."

Whilst the Armistice was negotiating, and after it was signed, the Emperor continued his efforts to prevail on France to treat, in conjunction with Great Britain: and it was proposed that a General Congress of

Plenipotentiaries from Austria and her Allies, should meet others from France, and her Allies; this proposal led to a long discussion between France and England, relative to a Maritime Armistice, which delayed the work of peace much beyond the period that had been at first expected.

THE END OF CHAP. II.

CHAPTER III.

Departure of the Consul from Milan...His Arrival at Paris....Emperor of Russia evinces a hostile Disposition against the English. ..Fête of the 14th of July....Decimal System of France....Fresh Attempt of the English to renew the Civil War in the Departments of France.

THE natural activity of Buonaparté did not permit him to remain in Italy long after he had achieved the grand exploit of the campaign. He left Milan on the 25th of June, and reached Vercelli on the same evening. On the 26th he reached Turin, where he visited the citadel, and reviewed the division of General Turreau. Between the 26th and 27th, during the night, he passed Mount Cenis. On the 28th, in the morning, he arrived at Chambery, from whence he proceeded to Lyons, and reached that city on the same evening. He was received with great distinction by the Constituted Authorities, in this celebrated city, and was waited upon by the Prefect, and all the civil and military officers, as well as the principal people of the place. On this occasion he gained much popularity, by giving audience to the Chamber of Commerce, the members of which he endeavoured to assure, that after everything should be completed for rendering the arms of the country illustrious, he would take such measures as should secure the success of its trade. At seven in the morning, the 30th of June, he arrived at Dijon; General Brune, commander-in-chief, and the principal officers of the army, came out to meet him, and afterwards, attended him to a review of the army, where he encouraged, by citing the example of their predecessors. The Consul merely stopped to breakfast with General Brune, and took his departure for Paris, which he reached in the night between the 1st and 2nd of July.

having been only fifty-eight days absent on a campaign which, in its consequences, laid the whole civilized world prostrate before him.

On his journey towards the Capital, the Consul put into practice that art of affected modesty which Frederic the Third had adopted to catch the admiration of the ignorant rabble; his postillions received orders to avoid, as much as possible, the demonstrations of applause, which it was supposed the gratitude of the people would greet him with on his passage; and, by appearing to think himself undeserving of such distinctions, he spared himself the mortification of witnessing any instances of neglect, if those distinctions should have been withheld, and, at all events, the fatigue and interruption that they would have occasioned.

When Buonaparté arrived at Paris, the Consuls and Ministers, with the Senators and Councillors of State, flocked around him, to congratulate him on the brilliant conclusion of the campaign. At eleven o'clock on the 2nd, when the two Consuls, and the Secretaries of State entered the Thuilleries, the guns of the palace and of Montmatre announced his arrival. The first words of the Consul, on seeing the Council of State, were, "Citizens! here I am again, have you done much since I left you?" The answer from twenty mouths at once was, as was natural from such an assembly, and upon such an occasion, "Not so much as you, General." On perceiving General Kellerman, he said, "Your son has distinguished himself," to which he added, "I wish for peace, as do the troops of Austria."

The streets of Paris rang with the shouts "*Vive Buonaparté!*" and the inhabitants of Lyons caused a medal to be struck to commemorate his visit to their city, where he had been prevailed upon to lay the first stone in the building of the *Place de Bellicour*.

Before his arrival at Paris, the good fortune of the Consul made him acquainted with a most extraordinary

change that the capricious mind of the Emperor of Russia was operating in his favour. That unrestrained and unruly Despot, had conceived an antipathy against his former allies, which evinced itself in a particular manner, in an attempt to raise a hostile spirit, in the North of Europe, against the naval power of Britain. Without provocation, he seized upon all the English vessels in his ports, and sent their crews into captivity; prohibiting all communication with that country, as well as the use of its manufactories in his dominions.

By aggravating the complaint made against the English navy for its treatment of neutrals, he prevailed upon Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to unite with him in a confederacy against England, the object of which was to oblige that country to abandon the principle of maritime law, technically called the Rule of the War of 1756; and to admit, that, in all cases, free ships should make free goods.

Without entering into the whole of this question at present, it will appear evident, that a more fortunate circumstance could not have occurred for the First Consul, whose fleets were blocked up in port. It was a renewal of the unjust claims so frequently urged by America; and he saw reason to hope, that Great Britain would suffer herself to be bullied into concessions that would, in effect, have given him all the neutral nations of the world for auxiliaries.

The victories and successes of the French arms, afforded the Government a convenient opportunity of indulging the Parisian taste for public fêtes and exhibitions; and, as the Consul could not yet declare his undisguised views relative to the Republic, it was resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the Revolution of the 14th of July, with unusual splendour.

Upon this occasion the standards taken at the battle of Marengo, and by the Army of Italy, were formally presented to the Government, in presence of the people,

assembled at the *Champ de Mars*, by General Lasne, and the *chef d'escadre* Berthier, accompanied by appropriate speeches. In his answer, the Chief Consul, in a manner to give all the honour of the several victories to the generals, said, "The standards presented to the Government, in the presence of the people of this immense Capital, attest the genius of the generals in chief Moreau; Massena, and Berthier; the military talents of the generals, their lieutenants, and the bravery of the French army. On their return to the camps, tell the soldiers; that, for the eve of the 23rd of September, when we shall celebrate the anniversary of the Republic, the French people expect the *publication of peace*, or, if the enemy should oppose insurmountable obstacles, *new standards, will be the fruits of new victories.*"

'At this fête Buonaparté acquired much popularity, by an invitation he gave to such of the invalids as had received medals at the Temple of Mars, to dine with him; amongst them were two venerable old men, one aged 104 and the other 107 years.

In answer to the constant flattery and fulsome adulation that was offered to him, he took occasion to let the good people know they had not yet offered him what he considered to be his price; and he, very early, dropped a hint of his expecting some greater reward of his services than what they had already conferred; for he declared, to a committee which had been sent to him; "That, after the time of his Consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept nothing from the people; but if, subsequent to that period, they should choose to apply to him the article of the Constitution which decrees, that some great recompense shall be given to those warriors who have signalized themselves in defence of the Republic, he would then accept their kindness with gratitude." This was allowing time for one party to increase his value and for the other to grow generous.

It cannot, indeed, be denied by the bitterest enemies of

the Consul, that if he designed to bend and mould the French people to his interest, he as diligently applied himself to become useful to them; and though it would be a waste of time to detail the various improvements and regulations suggested by him during the early part of his Consulate, as they were founded upon the principles of the Republic, and, therefore, were only designed by him to continue till they should be further modified, according as his projects might ripen; yet it would be improper to omit noticing the zealous and effectual support he gave to the new system of Weights and Measures, that had been suggested by the early revolutionists and opposed by all the bigots and knaves in Europe, who, like the supporters of kingcraft and priestcraft, find a system of complication and mystery necessary to enable them to impose upon the ignorant.

Among the great ideas, realized during the first period of the Revolution, must be reckoned that of a uniform system of Weights and Measures. From all parts of France remonstrances were sent against the great variety of those in use: several kings had endeavoured to remedy this evil, which was so hurtful to lawful trade and favourable only to fraud and double dealing; yet what *they* had not been able to effect was undertaken by the Constituent Assembly; it declared that there ought to be but one standard of weights and measures in a country subject to the same laws. The Academy of Sciences was charged to seek and present the best mode of carrying this decree into execution: that society proposed the adoption of the decimal division, by taking for a fundamental unit the ten millionth part of the quarter of the terrestrial meridian. The motives which determined this choice were, the extreme simplicity of decimal calculation and the advantage of having a measure taken from nature. The latter condition would, in truth, have been accomplished, had there been taken as a fundamental unit the

length of the pendulum, marking seconds for a given latitude; but the measure of an arc of the meridian, executed with the precision to be obtained by the methods and instruments of the present day, was extremely interesting in regard to the theory of the figure of the earth: this influenced the decision of the Academy.

All the measures of the metrical system were deduced from a base taken from nature, the fourth part of the terrestrial meridian; and the divisions of those measures are all subjected to the decimal order employed in arithmetic. In order to establish this base, the grand and important work of taking a new measure of the terrestrial meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona was begun in 1792: at the expiration of seven years it was terminated; and the Institute presented the result to the Legislative Body, with the original table of the new measures.

Mechain and Delambre measured the angles of ninety triangles with the new reflecting circles, imagined by Mayer, and which Borda had caused to be constructed: with these instruments they made four observations of latitude at Dunkirk, Paris, Evaux, Carcassonne and Barcelona; two bases, measured near Melun and Perpignan, with rules of platina and copper, forming metallic thermometers, were connected with the triangles of the meridian line: the total interval, which was $9^{\circ}.6738$, was found to be 551384.72 toises. As the degrees progressively diminished towards the South, but much more towards the middle than towards the extremities, the middle of the whole arc was taken, and, on comparing it with the degrees measured at Peru, between the years 1737 and 1741, the ellipticity of the earth was concluded to be 1.334th; the mean degree, 57,008 toises; and the *metre*, which is the ten-millionth part of the quarter of the meridian, 443,296 lines of the old French toises which had been used at Peru.

The commissioners sent from foreign countries verified all the calculations and sanctioned the results. The ex-

periments of the pendulum, made at the observatory, with extreme care, by Borda, Mechain, and Cassini, with a new apparatus, constructed by Lenqir, shewed the pendulum to be 10.99385 of the *metre*, on reducing it to the freezing point and in *vacuo*; this would be sufficient for finding again the *metre*, though all the standards were changed or lost.

In order to diffuse the knowledge of the system as extensively as possible, it was explained in all the gazettes, almanacks, and fugitive publications of the Republic, in the following simple manner.

Having correctly ascertained the distance between the equator and the pole, that quarter of the meridian is divided into ten parts, which gives 225 leagues :

That part is again divided into ten parts, which gives 22 leagues and one half :

A third division, into ten parts, gives a distance of 513.2 toises :

This part, divided in its turn, into ten parts, gives 513.2 toises :

By a fifth division is obtained a length of 51.32 toises :

The sixth division gives a length of 4,430 lines ; and

The seventh division, which is taken as the standard of all French measure, and is, therefore, expressly called the *metre*, gives three feet eleven lines, or four hundred and forty-three lines—a measure very nearly corresponding with the *verge* of Paris. This measure also, divided decimally, by a further subdivision produces the *decimetre*, or tenth part of the *metre*, measuring 443.19 lines : A further subdivision ascertains the hundredth part of the *metre*, and is called *centimetre* ; and, lastly, the *centimetre* is decimally divided to find the length of the *millimetre*, which is about 4-9ths of a line.

The *metre* became the basis of all the weights and measures of France.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE

Presents the Nomenclature of these different Measures, their divisions, and multiples, together with the new Weights, as decreed by the Legislative Body, and to it is annexed their correspondence with the English Measures and Weights.

LINEAR MEASURES.

	Miles.	F.	Y.	Ft.	Inches.
Myriamètre.....	10,000 Mètres	6	1	156	0 6
Kilomètre.....	1,000	0	4	213	1 10.2
Hectomètre.....	100	0	0	109	1 1
Decamètre.....	10	0	0	10	2 9.7
MÈTRE.....		0	0	—	3 3.371
Décimètre.....	10th of a Mètre	0	0	—	0 3.937
Centimètre.....	100th	0	0	—	0 0.393
Millimètre.....	1,000th	0	0	—	0 0.039

AGRARIAN MEASURES.

	Acres.	Roods.	Perches.
Myriare, <i>square</i> Kilomètre.....	247	0	20
Kilare.....	24	2	34
Hectare, <i>square</i> Hectomètre.....	2	1	35.4
Déctare.....			39.54
Are, <i>square</i> Decamètre.....			3.954
Décare.....			.395
Centiare, <i>square</i> metre.....			.039

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Kilolitre, <i>cubic Mètre</i>	89.1739	cubic feet ...	61028	cubic inches.
Hectolitre.....	2.9174	...	6102.8	...
Décalitre.....	0.2917	...	610.28	...
Litre, <i>cubic Décimètre</i>	50.4134	cubic inches ...	61.028	...
Décilitre.....	5.0413	...	6.1028	...
Centilitre.....	0.5041	...	.6102	...
Millilitre, <i>cubic Centimètre</i>	0.0504	...	.061	...

N. B. A Litre is nearly equal to two pints and one-eighth, English Wine Measure.

MEASURES FOR WOOD.

Stère <i>cubical Mètre</i>	29.1739	cubic feet ...	35.3171	cubic feet.
Décistère.....	2.9174	...	3.5317	...
Centistère.....	0.2917	...	.3531	...
Millistère, <i>cubic Décimètre</i>	0.0291	...	0.353	...

WEIGHTS.

TROY.

	Ba. oz. drams, grains.			Ba. oz. dwts. grains.		
Myriagramme.....	20	6	63.5	...	26	9 15 0.23
Kilogramme, weight of the cubic Décimètre of water at 4 degrees, which is the <i>maximum</i> of density.....	2	0	5	35.15	...	2 8 3 12.02
Hectogramme.....	3	2	10.72	...	...	3 4 8.40
Déctogramme.....	2	2	44.37	...	...	6 10.44
GRAMME, wt. of the cubic Centimètre at the freezing point			18.397	...		15.444
Déctigramme.....			1.983	...		1.544
Centigramme.....			0.183	...		.154
Milligramme, weight of the cubic Millimètre of water.....			0.019	...		.045

This system Buonaparté determined to establish throughout the French dominions, and the prefects were instructed to persevere in getting it adopted in their several departments, however strong the prejudice of the people might be against it. All the public offices introduced it into their own practice and all the duties and imposts were levied upon its principles. Each chief magistrate was enjoined to provide a sufficient supply of the new weights and measures for the demands of the merchants and citizens who might choose to adopt them, and he was responsible for their being issued correctly according to the national standard, each article bearing the arms of the nation and of the particular arrondissement from whose municipality it had been received.

Much patience was exercised with the obstinate, to persuade them so far to accommodate themselves to the general convenience as to adopt this one uniform principle of trade; and when they persisted in adhering to their old local standards, public notice was given by the magistrates, that, at the end of three months, they should fine all traders who continued to sell by the old weights and measures: the fines were not levied, and the notice was repeated, with fresh threats, for the next three months. Thus, by a mixture of perseverance and forbearance, the Consul, at length, carried his point: yet, if we may be permitted to anticipate so far, we must say, that it was not till 1803 that the system was entirely adopted throughout all the French dominions.

This one act of the Consul ought to cover a multitude of faults; and it naturally follows, that other governments, whose stupid attachment to the follies of their fathers continues to curse their subjects with all the confusion that is connected with pounds, that in one place mean sixteen ounces, in another eighteen, in another twenty, and a train of concomitant evils, ought to provide their people with much happiness some other way,

to counterbalance their negligence and misrule in this respect.

To return to our Narrative. We must direct the reader's attention once more to the Western Departments of France, where the English Government had again commenced its nibbling and vexatious system of warfare, after the amnesty had, in a great measure, reconciled the people to the government.

A very extensive expedition was fitted out in the English ports, which reached the place of its destination (*as every thing English does*) a little too late to do what it was designed for! The intention of the English Government was, it should seem, to reach the French coast time enough to keep a large body of the French from going to Italy: but whether the generals had not their hunters ready, or their ladies had not their toilets fitted up, or what other weighty reason delayed the expedition, the nations of Europe have never been able to guess; yet it happened that Buonaparté had got his army into Italy before the English arrived on the coast!

At Quiberon, and on the neighbouring coast, the English made good a landing, and the few French who had been disgusted at the execution of Frotte joined them: but no advantage whatever was gained by this trifling success; for the Consular Government dispatched General Bernadotte, from the department of Vilaine, who with a few troops drove them from the coast!

Georges and Guittimo, two chiefs of the former insurrection, endeavoured, in vain, to raise the people again in rebellion against the government, now, apparently, too prudent to give ground to an enemy who had not sense enough to keep possession of the advantages he had. It was now seen that the English had not spirit enough to maintain themselves in the posts that were procured for them; their time-serving attempts were made merely to annoy their enemy upon some temporary occasion, and not to gain any solid advantage either for themselves

or the unfortunate people who were duped by their ill-supported manifestoes.

The warfare of the English Government was the most disgraceful species of warfare that could be carried on, for it placed that government, in the eyes of mankind, in the same light as the Executive Directory, which, in its expedition to Ireland, sent only a handful of troops, just sufficient to distract the country and betray the people. Guided alone by the sordid desire of annoying its enemy at a small expense, it regarded as nothing the lives of the inhabitants, sacrificed to its treacherous friendship! Little can be said in favour of the French mode of carrying on war, still less for that of Austria and the continental allies of Britain: but, of all the nations who have been involved in the war since the year 1792, none have less cause to be satisfied, and none have been so really and so generally dissatisfied with the mode in which its government has chosen to carry on the war as the English. That government has wantoned away money enough to have subdued a universe; but it has doled it out with so much parsimony, that it has converted the very strength of the nation into weakness; and, amidst all its bustle and bluster, it has evinced so little spirit, that the enemy has been invariably strengthened by every effort it has made.

The pseudo morality, the church-going politics, of the English, displayed itself throughout the whole conduct of the war; they endeavoured to shape their course so as to avoid the charges of temerity and extravagance, and thus they were only generous by degrees and courageous by halves. If a point could be gained by sixty thousand men, why sixty thousand was too great a number to risk; thirty thousand was all that could be hazarded without danger: thirty thousand were sent, and, being inadequate to the purpose, were lost, as every wise man had foreseen they would be: but Government obtained the negative credit of having done less mischief than it might have

done, and the nation was cajoled, under the idea, that there had been some œconomy practised in thus husbanding out its treasure, to enable it to bear a similar loss the succeeding year.

The partisans of the British Government affected to censure the severity of the French for the oppressiveness of the requisitions and the prodigality with which the lives of the soldiers were hazarded in the field, thousand after thousand. There was, it is true, prodigality, oppression, and a most barbarous want of feeling in this; but it was gentleness, it was mercy, it was humanity, compared with the Pittite mode—it answered the purpose for which it was designed—it gave the people something in return for their sacrifices: every million of money and every thousand lives, that was expended by the French, procured for them its full value, in the security it gave them; but every million of money and every thousand lives expended by the English, has rendered them weak and insecure in proportion. The government of the French nation has doubled its territory; the government of the English nation has doubled its debt: the French Government conducted the war so as to place its country in security; the English Government conducted the war so as to place its country in jeopardy. The requisition commissaries of France will extol the system of Buonaparté; the tythe-collecting merchants of England will prefer the tortuous system of Pitt; but the real friends of mankind will see nothing to be pleased with in either, more than might be observed in the conduct of two heirs to an estate, who, having divided their patrimony between them, should take opposite methods of squandering it away. If one, with an unexampled degree of patience and perseverance, should seat himself upon Dover cliffs for twelve or fourteen years successively, and, soberly throw his riches, guinea after guinea, into the bottomless gulph; whilst his brother, with a taste for

sensuality and extravagance equal to that of Heliogabalus, should discover no other use for his wealth than that of ministering new gratifications to his appetites, we should, doubtless, admire the self denial and resignation that led to the choice of such a harmless life, but we should be at a loss to know how the former life could benefit mankind more than the latter; were it possible so to settle the dispute, and to reconcile the French and English governments, it would certainly promote the happiness of mankind to write VICE upon the escutcheon of the one, and FOLLY upon that of the other.

Notwithstanding the evident folly of sending the expedition to the coast of France, at a time when every thing had been done to destroy the confidence of the great body of the people; those most miserable of all quacks, the newspapers in the interest of the English Government, attempted to impose upon the people, with their usual effrontery, by holding out hopes of success. The delusion was of short duration: a few trifling convoys were captured by the British cruisers upon the coast; but all the parade of the expedition had vanished, before the Consul returned to Paris.

Buonaparté gave orders to the Minister of Marine to get the navy placed upon the best possible footing; and he wrote a Letter himself to the West, in order to attach the Vendéans still more strongly to his government.

The FIRST CONSUL to the PREFECT of the DEPARTMENT of LA VENDEE.

Paris, July 26. -

" AN account has been given me, Citizen Prefect, of the good conduct of the inhabitants of Normontier, La Crosnier, Barbatre, and Beauvais, in the different descents attempted by the English: I have not been left in ignorance of those who shewed the most courage and attachment to the Government.

" Choose me a dozen of the inhabitants who have behaved best in these affairs, and send them to me to Paris, accompanied by the officers of the *gendarmerie* who led them; I wish to see those brave and good Frenchmen: I wish, too, that the good people of the Capi-

tal shall see them ; and that they should carry back with them, at their return, the testimonies of the satisfaction of the French People.

" If, among those who have distinguished themselves, there are any Priests, send them to me, in preference ; for I esteem and love Priests who are good Frenchmen, and who know how to defend their country against the eternal enemies of the French name ;—those wicked heretics, the English !

(Signed)

" BUONAPARTE."

The effects of this Letter will easily be imagined : all the people of the disaffected departments hastened to display their loyalty to the First Consul : and it is with sincere sorrow that we are obliged to record such instances of human depravity ; as, that, among the Emigrants, were found persons, who, after having been sheltered by the British Government and fed by its bounty, when persecuted from their homes, were eager to reconcile themselves to the Consular Government by the zeal with which they vilified their benefactors !

THE END OF CHAP. III.

CHAPTER IV.

Preliminaries of Peace between Austria and France signed at Paris....Consequences....War in Egypt....Turks totally defeated at Heliopolis....Cairo captured....Treatment of the Inhabitants....Plans....The French Commander assassinated....Letters from General Menou and Sir Sidney Smith....Observations.

THE Life of Buonaparté necessarily embraces a great variety of topics; and if a Work similar to this were to be undertaken by a mind as viciously determined to praise him throughout every page, as the writers of some Histories of him (which disgrace the British press) seem to have been determined to scandalize him, right or wrong; the writer who would possess that mind would, most likely, have preserved, as a foil to his Hero, a list of the disasters which befel the British nation under the administration of Mr. Pitt and his friends: this chapter would, then, have commenced with, perhaps, the words, "The Nine hundred and Ninety-ninth Disaster!" and would have informed posterity, that the besotted Pittites were as much surprised, when it came as if it had been the very first.

The warmongers of London and the speculators of Westminster had taken great pains to persuade their dupes, that the Emperor of Germany would complaisantly carry on the war, and sacrifice the lives of his inoffensive boors, as long as the cravings of their cupidity might continue to chant the delightful sound, "War! war! war!" and the silly people went on believing, till news arrived, that Count St. Julien had signed preliminaries of peace at Paris. This intelligence conveyed the unexpected idea that England was left alone in the con-

test: an overweening confidence gave way to a stupid panic, both most perfectly English: a general dream of invasion disturbed the repose of every good citizen in the kingdom; and those who had, during the whole of the war, dilated most eloquently upon the resources of the kingdom, now proved, that they had not discovered the simple means of making the enemy see that it was his paramount interest to make peace, whenever he might be asked to do so.

Upon this, as upon every other occasion, the English ministry lost sight of the clear and distinct interest of the nation, and involved its fate in the contrary and intricate concerns of the continent; this led to a long and embarrassing altercation between the contending powers, as to the terms of the naval armistice, which should make it as advantageous to France by sea, as the advantages she granted to Austria were by land: this discussion, however, derived its principal difficulty from the particular state of things in Egypt, at the moment of which we are treating; and hence it will be necessary to pursue our enquiries into the progress of the war in the East up to that period.

General Kleber, in consequence of the stipulations he had entered into by the fourth article of the Convention, had delivered up Catich, Salahich, Belbies, Damietta, and the Delta, to the Turks, when the intelligence reached him that Lord Keith had refused to ratify the treaty; he was, therefore, in a much worse condition than when he began to negotiate, whilst the Grand Vizier had increased his force prodigiously.

Forty-five days had been agreed upon as the time for the French to evacuate Cairo, and until that time expired the French general and the Turkish commander continued to negotiate upon the most friendly footing, in expectation that the Court of St. James's would ratify the treaty; but the Grand Vizier, adhering literally to the conditions, demanded the citadel of Cairo to be delivered

up at the time : such a demand was most unreasonable, and the French general refused to comply with it. It was asking him to abandon the only fortified place that he held in Upper Egypt, and, in fact, to shut himself up in Alexandria, where he would, shortly, have been obliged to capitulate without terms. He could not have chosen such a part without dishonour ; and the Turks should have considered, that some disagreements which had happened between them and Djezzar Pacha were to be reckoned in the light of advantages to the French, who, beside, had formed a compromise with Murad Bey, which gave them security on the side of Upper Egypt.

Kleber determined to keep the power he held, and made the Letter from Lord Keith the ground upon which he justified himself to his army for recommencing hostilities. The Letter of the English admiral notified, as before stated, his orders not to sanction the treaty of El-Arisch ; and it concluded by informing General Kleber, that " all ships that might be met returning to France, notwithstanding they might have passports, would be retained as prizes, and all on board them would be made prisoners of war." " Soldiers !" said the French General, " we know how to reply to such insolence by victories : prepare for battle !"

From the 8th to the 20th of March the French army was occupied in preparations, and on that day, early in the morning, the troops began to cannonade the advanced posts of the Turks, which were at Maturia, about two leagues from Cairo, the camp being at Heliopolis.

At eight o'clock in the morning the grand Vizier advanced with his army, the French being drawn up in two lines. A corps of janizaries charged the French with considerable bravery ; but being ill supported by their artillery, and not sufficiently supplied with ammunition, were soon obliged to retreat. The French troops were fifteen thousand strong, well proportioned with cavalry and dromedaries ; the Turks were capable of mustering

eighty thousand troops in a few hours. Few battles have been fought with more fury during the time that it lasted; but here, as upon all former occasions, the superior skill of the smaller number set the power of the larger at defiance, insomuch, that, by noon, the French were ready to advance upon their adversaries: a dreadful fire of artillery and musquetry, from the whole line, threw the Turkish hordes into irrecoverable disorder and confusion, whilst the enemy rushed upon them and mowed them down like grass: forty thousand men took to flight in all directions, and the Grand Vizier found it impossible to rally them.

In vain did the Turkish commander endeavour to secure himself in his camp; he was obliged to abandon it the same day, the French having advanced in a manner the best calculated to cut off his retreat. The route soon became general, and the French took nineteen pieces of artillery, with great part of the camp equipage.

During this conflict the slaughter among the Turks is supposed to have amounted to eight thousand killed, besides wounded and prisoners! The French fought desperately, and their fury was not allayed when they learned that Cairo had been attacked by some thousands of the enemy, who had penetrated by the way of Boulac, with a view to cut off their only resource, and butcher them in the Desert.

The inhabitants of Cairo had favoured the Turks, and the few French that had been left in the city were put to death; an offence that would, most likely, have provoked Kleber to have demolished it, had he not found it indispensibly necessary to him in his condition: he reduced it to a blockade, and, without much difficulty, retook it, when it was laid under a very heavy contribution; and the army was reinstated in its good humour, by the general's being enabled to bring up the arrears of pay and clothing, from the joint plunder of the camp and the city.

The bad faith, as it was called, of the English, in the

rupture of the treaty of El-Arish, had excited the indignation of the army: to them the Turks were not formidable enemies. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire (9th of November, 1799) of which they had now received intelligence, their confidence in the government heightened their desire to preserve a conquest, the vast importance of which they felt, and which they contemplated with pleasure, since they began to endure fewer privations and to reap some enjoyments.

The inhabitants, astonished to see the Vizier of the Porte, the greatest personage to whom their knowledge extended, defeated by the French, were now convinced that the efforts of the Turks to regain the country would thenceforth be ineffectual; and, considering Egypt as the property of their new masters, began to place great confidence in them. They had experienced, on various occasions, with what facility revolts had been suppressed by a small number of troops. The expenses of the war, levied on the rebels, would deter them for ever from similar attempts; and the peace with Murad Bey tended to retain the inhabitants in these peaceable dispositions.

The extraordinary contributions imposed on Cairo, as a punishment for its revolt, afforded means to pay the whole arrears of the army, amounting to eleven millions of livres, including the soldiers' pay, and tranquilly to wait the season for collecting the ordinary imposts, to supply the current expenses. The ameliorations, which a state of war, and the difficulties inseparable from a new establishment, had prevented Buonaparté from effecting, in a country where the language, manners, and customs, opposed innumerable obstacles, General Kleber was in a situation to accomplish, after the victory of Heliopolis. The regulations he ordained in every department of the administration, introduced great economy into the expenditure, diminished the charges of collection, and put a stop to various exactions and dilapidations.

Kleber, desirous of profiting of the moment of general

good-will in the inhabitants of Cairo, and to persuade them (particularly the Copts) that, if they had been armed during the siege, their quarters would not have been pillaged by the Turks, and that it was their interest to concur with the French in the common defence, prevailed on them to raise a battalion of 500 men, whom he trained to arms, and clothed in the French uniform. He proposed to augment these auxiliary troops as circumstances might permit.

This formation of a body of Copts was useful as introducing a military taste; but it was a still more important object to induce the inhabitants of Egypt (Christians and Mussulmen) to enrol themselves in the demi-brigades, where they would more readily imbibe the principles, and learn the discipline of the French soldiery. Kleber gave the greatest encouragement to these enrolments; in Upper Egypt they became frequent. The 21st demi-brigade in a short time recruited 300 men, who quickly learnt their exercise. The inhabitants of Lower Egypt seemed less disposed to enter the service; but their repugnance, it was hoped, would be removed.

The Greeks, of a more warlike character, offered themselves with a great deal more zeal. Two companies of Greeks had been raised by Buonaparté; one of these was at the siege of Cairo, and fought with great bravery. General Kleber raised a Greek legion, in which were enlisted numbers of Greeks who had newly arrived in the ports of Egypt. It soon amounted to nearly 1,500 men.

The army had found great difficulty to procure means of carriage in moments of great urgency; because at such times the Arabs, who let out their camels to hire, disappeared. To secure this important service Kleber established a park of 500 camels, for the use of the army; which were employed, when the troops were not in the field, in various useful services. He gave orders for the purchase of horses and camels, to remount the cavalry

and for the artillery. He established flying-bridges over the branches of the Nile, to facilitate the march of troops from the coast to the frontier of Syria; and established posts of communication between the different stations of the army.

He laid down a plan of great simplicity for works to be constructed at Cairo; embracing two great objects—to overawe the inhabitants of that extensive city, and so far to command the avenues that an enemy could not easily introduce himself to raise the inhabitants. He gave orders also for works necessary to the defence of the coasts.

He established a committee of works, consisting of five members, heads of the principal departments of the civil administration, with whom he advised on the ameliorations that the circumstances of the country would permit.

He put a stop to a multitude of dilapidations, and to speculations, at the expense of the soldiery, whose condition he greatly improved, by ordering a regular delivery of the rations of provisions and forage, and assigning clothing to the several corps.

The Turkish fleet, commanded by the Captain Pacha, appeared off Alexandria about the latter end of May. Kleber, having no information whether or not troops were on board, and an attempt on the coast was meditated, instantly marched with part of the troops at Cairo, and ordered the troops in the Delta to assemble at Rahmanieh. He quitted Cairo on the 14th Prairal (beginning of June); learnt at Rahmanieh that the Capitan Pacha appeared off Alexandria merely to open a negotiation if possible; prohibited the landing of any agent of the Turks; and returned to Cairo, leaving in the Delta, opposite to Rahmanieh, a flying-camp of two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, to march to any part of the coast that might be menaced, or to the frontier of Syria.

It does not appear that the battle of Heliopolis was fol-

lowed up by any active measures against the Turks, still powerful on the side of the Desert; and it should seem, from the Memoir published by General Regnier, that General Menou, who had been the bosom friend and principal confidant of Buonaparte, might have contributed to thwart the designs of the commander-in-chief, and have been the cause of his not proceeding to more active hostilities.

General Menou had arrived at Cairo about the middle of May. In the course of the six preceding months he had received various orders to repair thither, at first to be employed in the negotiations with the Turks, afterwards for the approaching campaign, and after the reduction of Cairo to assume the command of that place. But, although uniformly answering that he was about to depart, and that he desired nothing so eagerly as to meet the enemy, he remained very quietly at Rosetta, till the Turks being driven out of Cairo, and chased to the Desert, nothing more remained but to enjoy the tranquillity purchased by the victories of the army.

When General Menou was arrived at Cairo, he raised objections to his taking the command of that place. That of Upper Egypt, where he expressed an inclination to travel, was offered him; but to this also he raised objections. At length Kleber, in one of his moments of caustic humour, said to General Menou, in a letter, that, having offered him the most desirable commands, he had only that of commander-in-chief to add. General Menou chose the command of Upper Egypt; but did not leave Cairo.

About this time various reports, injurious to Kleber, and calculated to deprive him of the confidence of the army, were spread through Cairo. The author was not then suspected; but "since then," says Regnier, "there has been little doubt on that subject."

Before General Kleber departed from Cairo for Rahmahieh, he wrote to general Reynier, who was on duty in

Telioubeh, to proceed to Cairo, to take the command of the place, and watch Upper Egypt and the frontiers of Syria, while he was on the coast. The express with these orders lost his way; and General Reynier did not reach Cairo till after Kleber's departure. In the interim General Menou asked for the command of Cairo, which Kleber gave him, recommending him to advise with General Reynier on the necessary dispositions, if there should be any movement on the side of Syria. General Reynier, on his arrival at Cairo gave Menou every necessary information relative to the fortifications, the troops, and the inhabitants and police of the city, with each of which General Menou was little acquainted.

Kleber returned from Rahmanieh on the 21st. On the 23rd he shewed to general Reynier a note he had ordered to be written, in answer to a letter that Mr. Morris, secretary to Lord Elgin, had sent him from Jaffa. He conversed with General Reynier on the conduct he proposed to maintain with the Turks, upon which subject he had before held several conversations with him. It was Kleber's object to avail himself of the rupture of the treaty of El-Arish, and of the arrangements made by the English at that time to occupy Alexandria, Damietta, and Suez, to excite the jealousy and anger of the Turks. It was his intention to decline all communication both with the Turkish and English commander-in-chief while he endeavoured to open a direct correspondence with Constantinople. By this policy he expected to be able to correspond with the French Government, receive its instructions, and prevail on the Turks to consent to a neutrality till the conclusion of a general peace. A treaty to this effect would have secured the French army from any attack, except by a maritime expedition, which the English would scarcely have attempted without the aid of the Turks; and would have augmented the resources of the French by reviving commerce in Egypt.

On the 14th of June, General Kleber, after reviewing

the Greek legion in the Isle of Raoudah, came to Cairo, to inspect repairs that were making at his house. He was walking on the terrace of his garden with citizen Protain, his architect, when he received several stabs with a poignard. The assassin, who had arrived at Cairo towards the end of Floreal (the middle of May) had followed Kleber from Gizeh; and, having introduced himself into the house along with the workmen, seized for his purpose, the moment when Kleber's attention was deeply engaged in conversation.

As soon as the generals heard the news of the assassination, they assembled at the house of General Damas, to which the body of Kleber had been carried. Search was made for the assassin; and he was soon after arrested and interrogated.

The sheiks and agas of the city had been sent for, with an intention to examine if this deed was connected with any more extensive conspiracy. An aid-de-camp entered the room in which the generals were assembled, to know if they were to be brought in. General Reynier, to whom the officer spoke, desired him to address himself to General Menou, who referred him back to General Reynier, and a discussion arose between the two generals concerning a successor to Kleber.

General Menou maintained that he was unqualified for the command; that, having been in little active service, he was less known to the troops than general Reynier; and that he had already refused the command in chief on other occasions. He lavished his word of honour, that he would sooner give in his resignation as a general officer, than accept the command; and that, even if it were imposed upon him, he would avail himself of its authority to order General Reynier to assume it.

General Reynier observed to him, that, in such circumstances, the laws ordered the oldest general officer to take the provisional command till the pleasure of the government should be known; and that, if he desired time to

come to a resolution, as to the command in chief, he could not decline to issue his orders as commandant of Cairo; and that, for his part, he deemed the command of too important a nature to assume it without mature reflection. Perceiving that General Menou came to no resolution, he took him aside; and, repeating his arguments, added that such a discussion ought to be postponed to a time of less difficulty.

General Menou again insisted that he could not take the command; that he had not seen service, and was unknown to the troops, who were, perhaps, prejudiced against him by his change of religion, from the Catholic to the Mohameddan. General Reynier observed, that he ought not to consider his change of religion as any obstacle; that it would even render his authority more easy to the people of the country; and that all the generals, and General Reynier in particular, would assist him with their whole powers and best counsels. He invited him at all events to take the lead at present, as commandant of Cairo. He then led General Menou back to the aid-de-camp, and the discussion ended for that time.

The examinations concerning the assassination continued. The next day General Menou assumed the title of commander-in-chief, *ad interim*, and appointed General Reynier president of the commission charged to try the assassin.

After the interment of Kleber, and the execution of the assassin, General Menou assumed the title of General in Chief. The army with great reluctance saw him succeed its former general: murmurs were heard in several corps; but they were appeased by the generals, who hoped that General Menou's knowledge of business would well qualify him to direct the civil administration, and that, in actual service and times of danger, he would avail himself of their military experience.

The Consular Government had received accounts, by way of Constantinople, of the recommencement of hos-

tilities early in July, which revived the hope of being able still to retain Egypt as a colony ; as it was evident that all hope of recovering it by a Turkish army was at an end. Egypt would now, it was considered, require a large British force to subdue it, or would become an important object of negotiation with that country.

The French Government concluded, that the only chance by which the colony could be evacuated by negotiation, would arise out of the enmity* that was known to exist between Kleber and Buonaparté, and which, it was thought, might induce the former to surrender an acquisition by which the credit of the latter would be increased : even this apprehension ceased upon the arrival of the intelligence of Kleber's death, and the arrival of the intelligence was as mysterious as the assassination of the general : it was announced in the Paris papers by the publication of two letters, said to have been received by the French Government, over land, from Constantinople, without comment or explanation ; and the authority of the letters was only such as their internal evidence carried with them. No satisfactory account has ever been obtained of the motives that led to the murder of the French commander, nor of their authors ; but, by the perusal of the letters alluded to, it appears that General Menou evinced no delicacy in accusing the Turks of the crime.

* The enmity that existed between them arose during their campaign in Syria. Kleber's principles of humanity emboldened him to censure Buonaparté's cruelties, and, in some instances, to oppose the massacre of the prisoners. During the siege of Acre Buonaparté ordered Kleber to send a detachment of his division to storm at night : Kleber, doubtful whether the breach was practicable, sent one of his ablest officers to reconnoitre it ; and, being informed that success was impossible, he refused to give the order, and told Buonaparté, " That he might send himself, if he chose." Buonaparté did send ; and the whole detachment (including Kleber's confidential officer) perished in the attempt !

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

LIBERTY !

EQUALITY !

Head-quarters at Cairo, 1st Messidor, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

*MENOU, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, to SIR SIDNEY SMITH, commanding his
BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SHIP the TIGER.*

" I HAVE received, Sir, the letter which you have done me the honour to write from on board the Tiger, off Rhodes, on the 9th June. As the execrable murder committed upon the Commander-in-Chief, Kleber, has deprived the French army of their leader, I have undertaken to command them. As your allies, the Turks, could not conquer the French at El Arisch, they made use of daggers—which dastards alone employ to be revenged. A Janissary, sent from Gaza forty-two days ago, has been chosen to perpetrate this horrid act. The French wish to believe that the Mussulmen alone are guilty. The murder shall be made known to all nations, who all have the same interest to revenge it. The conduct which you, Sir, have yourself, observed respecting the Convention concluded at El Arisch, plainly shews me how I must act. You demanded the ratification of your Court; and I too must likewise demand that of the Consuls, who now govern the French Republic, for the treaties that may be concluded between the army under my command the English, and their allies. It is now the only legal and authentic method to be adopted in negotiations. I, too, detest the horrors of war, like you, Sir, and wish to see an end to the misery it occasions. But I will in no respect act anywise contrary to the honour of the French Republic and her armies. I am perfectly convinced that you entertain the same sentiments of good faith, honour, and morality, which ought to characterize treaties concluded between nations.

" The French Republic are strangers to those stratagems of war, of which Mr. Morris's† papers make mention. They know no other rule of conduct, but courage in battle, generosity after victory, and the strict observance of treaties.

" One hundred and fifty Englishmen are prisoners of war here. Had I only listened to the Republican generosity, I would have sent

* Sir Sidney Smith had written to Menou, as Commandant of Alexandria, requesting him to inform Kleber that the English Government had ratified the treaty, and urging the re-opening of negotiations.

† Mr. Morris was private secretary to Lord Elgin, the English ambassador at Constantinople, and, having been appointed to follow the Grand Vizier, had corresponded with General Kleber.

them back, without considering them as prisoners; for they have been taken on the coast of Egypt, and without arms, and I am convinced the Consuls would have approved of my conduct. But your allies, the Turks, detain the Citizen and Chief of Brigade Baudet, Adjutant of General Kleber, though his person ought to have been sacred, even to barbarians, for he went on a parley.

"I have thus been forced, against my will and inclination, to use reprisals against your countrymen; but they shall be released the moment Citizen Baudet reaches Damietta. He shall there be exchanged for Mustapha Pacha and other Turkish Commissaries. If, as I make no doubt, you possess influence with your allies, this affair will soon be settled. Your honour is interested in it, and it concerns 150 of your countrymen.

"I have the honour to repeat to you, Sir, that with an enthusiastic joy I shall see terminate a war which has so long disturbed the whole world. It behoves the French and English nations to esteem and not to destroy each other; but if they treat together, it must be on conditions equally honourable to both, and equally conducive to their respective welfare.

"Please to accept, Sir, of the most sincere assurances of my esteem and respect,

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"ABDALLAH BEY, J. MENOÜ."

COPY of a TRANSLATION from the TURKISH, of a LETTER from SIR SIDNEY SMITH to GENERAL MENOÜ, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the FRENCH ARMY in EGYPT, originally written in FRENCH.

"GENERAL,

Jaffa, June 22, 1800.

"I RECEIVED, this evening, the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 20th inst. At the instant when I expected to see General Kleber under the most favourable and satisfactory auspices, I learned with the liveliest concern, and the most heartfelt sorrow, his tragical fate. I immediately communicated the intelligence to the Grand Vizier and the Ottoman ministers, in the terms in which you announced to me that sad event; and nothing less than the certainty and details with which you communicated it could have induced their Excellencies to accredit the information. The Grand Vizier has declared to me, formally and officially, that he had not the slightest knowledge of those who have been guilty of the assassination; and I am persuaded that his declaration is true and sincere. Without entering into the particulars of this unfortunate event, I shall content myself with answering the articles of your letter that relate to our affairs.

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" If the Grand Vizier has detained in his camp the aid-de-camp Baudet, dispatched to him at Jebil-il-Illam, it was because his Excellency did not think proper to suffer any person to quit his camp at the moment when he saw himself surrounded by his enemies. Baudet was detained at Jebil-il-Illam in the same manner as the Turkish officers destined to serve reciprocally with him as hostages, were detained at Cairo.

" This Aid-de-camp was sent to the Ottoman squadron to be exchanged, according to your desire, and during that interval his Excellency the Captain Pach^e having arrived here, the exchange was postponed in consequence of his absence from the squadron. When his Excellency shall have joined the squadron, the exchange may be carried into effect, should you think proper, as the Aid-de-camp is off Alexandria; but I cannot perceive why you make the release of 150 English, who were shipwrecked at the Cape Brulos, depend upon a transaction relating only to yourself and the Porte. I expect, from your good faith and your justice, according to the regulations settled between both nations relative to the reciprocal exchange of our prisoners, which we are authorised to enforce, that you will allow Captain Butal, his officers and crew, to return.

" Your promises expressive of the hope of reciprocity on my part cannot apply to this circumstance, and I think it superfluous to offer you, in return, the assurance of my good offices in favour of any person who may be reduced to the painful situation which I have myself experienced. I am convinced that the Grand Vizier will sanction with his generous and dignified approbation all the humane proceedings which we may adopt with respect to one another. The tricks of warfare are unknown to us both; and while I shall continue to behave to you with the same candour and the same good faith which I have manifested to the present moment, I shall earnestly employ all my means to prevent any person on whom I may possess influence from pursuing a contrary line of conduct. Be assured that the hostile dispositions which have been recently announced, and which have acquired extent and publicity, may be appeased, by the opportunities furnished to both parties by the present circumstances of mutual correspondence and communication, and that we shall, at length, be united by the ties of sincere friendship. In the mean time we shall prosecute hostilities against you with the means which we have hitherto proceeded against you, and we shall endeavour to render ourselves worthy of the esteem of your brave troops.

" The hostilities which you have committed, without waiting for Admiral Keith's answer, who was unacquainted with the Convention concluded for the evacuation of Egypt, have furnished us with a rule for our conduct. I had not demanded of my Court the ratification of

the Convention; I merely was desirous to remove some obstacles that might have opposed the return of the French to their country.

" As General Kleber did not, in the late Preliminaries which were agreed to, give us to understand that it was necessary the treaty which was to have followed them should be ratified by the Consuls: this condition now introduced by you in your Preliminaries has the appearance of a refusal to evacuate Egypt; and the Grand Vizier has commissioned me to require of you on that head a clear and precise answer. You wish, as I do, for a termination to a war which desolates the whole world.

" It is in your power to remove one of the obstacles in the way of peace by evacuating Egypt according to the terms agreed upon with General Kleber, and, if you refuse we shall exert all our means, and those of our Allies, in order to compel you to accept conditions which may not be so advantageous. I cannot suppress my regret at being forced to fulfil that duty, but the evacuation of Egypt being an object of so much interest to the cause of humanity, the mode of accomplishing it by correspondence and conference is still open.

" As the Admiral, under whose orders I am, is at a considerable distance, I am authorised to agree to such arrangements as the necessity of circumstances may dictate; and, although, from the nature of events, I am not warranted in offering any new proposition, I am, however, ready and disposed to receive all those which you may think fit to make. I can declare to you officially, that I shall exert all my efforts to prevent any rash proceedings, and to oppose all vexatious measures, from whatever quarter they may arise.

" I shall literally adhere to all the instructions of my Court. I know its principle to be founded upon the most punctilious equity and the most perfect good faith. My conduct shall be conformable to its principles, and all my exertions shall be directed to the performance of my duty, by promoting its interests.

" As it is not yet decided in what direction I am about to act, I beg you will transmit me your answer in two dispatches, the one addressed to Alexandria and the other to Jaffa, at the Camp of the Grand Vizier.

(Signed)

" SIDNEY SMITH."

To whomsoever the assassination of General Kleber is to be attributed, Menou can hardly be suspected, after the fervour of his indignation, as it appears in the preceding letter, is considered; and as to his friend, the First Consul, he got his colleagues to decree, that an Egyptian monument should be raised, to preserve busts of the Generals.

Kleber and Desaix, who had perished on the same day ; the one after having procured peace for his country by the victory of Marengo, and the other after having confirmed his country in possession of its most valuable colony by the victory of Heliopolis. This compliment to a dead general was the cheapest way that the Consul saw of shewing the value he attached to an insecure possession ; a possession, however, it was ; and the French Government refused to treat with England, in conjunction with her allies, unless the armistice to be agreed to, in the interim, allowed reinforcements to be sent by sea to the army in Egypt as freely as the Austrians sent them by land to the armies of Germany and Italy by virtue of the existing armistice.

THE END OF CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER V.

English Influence....Schemes frustrated....American Negotiation....Claims upon Portugal....Re-appearance of Hostilities....Official Declarations....Remarks.

IF there was ever a moment in which France was really thwarted, by what she calls the gold and intrigues of England, it was during the negotiations for the naval armistice: the alliance between the courts of Vienna and St. James's was most perfectly secure, and the understanding between the ministers of the respective courts as complete as possible. Francis now saw that what he held, he held so intirely by the forbearance of his enemy, that, like a froward child, he was determined to try the utmost limit of that forbearance, rather than acknowledge himself debtor for what he had experienced: he seemed to be so near to the brink of ruin that he doubted whether it was worth while to be saved or not; and he was prevailed upon by the British cabinet to disavow the preliminaries of Count St. Julien and to refuse his ratification, in the hope that the French might be induced to enter into a joint treaty with England, in order that the conquests the latter had obtained from France might be set off in the negotiation against those which France had made from him. In the interim a constant communication was kept up between the governments of France and England, which, as far as time was necessary, gave Austria an opportunity of collecting and increasing her resources: for until France should have exhausted every reply the intricate discussion between her and England must inevitably call for, she could not well break the armistice with the Emperor; but Austria seemed to be so far fallen, and to be destitute of so many other prerequisites, that time was to her of no value.

Buonaparté considered it of the first consequence that he should be enabled to send supplies to Egypt; and he winked at the obstinacy of the Emperor, in hopes that his indulgence might operate upon the English ministers, in their *full-moon* moments, to yield to his importunities: the folly of the British ministry and the Consul's patience, had, however, both, their limits.

To have admitted another French force into the Mediterranean would have been to have empowered France to have settled Egypt as a possession of her own for ever; and a powerful fleet and army, which, ever since the siege of Genoa, had been up that sea, under the command of Lord Keith and General Abercrombie, had already been destined to take possession of the colony. On the contrary, the Consul was pledged to the English to announce peace by the first day of the new year, or to lead the armies on to new victories: his time was nearly exhausted, and he began to assume the character, that he so frequently alludes to in his proclamations and addresses—that of the *waking lion*.

Strong and severe remonstrances were transmitted to the Emperor, threatening him with the rupture of the armistice at the end of ten days, if he did not send an ambassador to Luneville, the place that had been marked by the former negotiation, as the rendezvous for concluding a definitive treaty; and the Consul, as if determined to display himself in consistency with his own figure, began whetting his teeth by a species of underplot warfare with Portugal and America.

The United States had appointed commissioners to adjust their differences with France shortly after the Consular Government had commenced; but as the Consul had begun to taste the sweets of sovereignty, he could not refrain from assuming its airs; and he chose to shew these commercial plenipotentiaries, that it was their business to wait; and let crowns and coronets be served before them. The whole treatment of the American minis-

ters at the Consular court was designed to say to them, "When you are sufficiently sensible of your original insignificance we will condescend to hear you;" yet did those doubly brutified brutes, the democrates of England and America, cling to this same Consul, as the champion of their cause!

The obstacles thrown in his way by the tardiness of the Emperor and the disputations of the English, left Buonaparté few other amusements for some time than those which arose out of the preparations making to delight the Parisians at the new year sports, and to console them for having lost the fête of the 10th of August, which, very much to his credit, the Consul had not suffered to be kept that year: he, therefore, admitted the plebian ministers to talk of their affairs at the season of leisure, and caused them to be informed, that the first thing they would be expected to do to gain his favour, would be to break their treaty with England. The good sense of the ministers overcame the subserviency of a great part of their countrymen to French politics, and this point was not conceded; but their arrangements went on so slowly, that the whole farce of the American negotiation served at once to shew the contempt in which that country was held by the French Government, and the blind servility of a people whose prejudices prevented them from seeing what was observed by all the world beside.

Whilst playing with America the Consul determined to exercise his severity with greater rigor upon another ally of Great Britain—Portugal; that country being within his grasp, and not to be let off with mere menace, like the United States. Of Portugal he demanded certain privileges and commercial advantages, which it was impossible to concede without violating treaties existing between that country and Great Britain, whom it was impossible to offend without incurring the most serious disasters. This was no matter; all he wanted was a cause

of quarrel; and, though he could give no better reason for it than that of the Wolf to the Lamb, in the fable, that answered his purpose as well as any other. Spain undertook to mediate in behalf of the feeble state, and the British fitted out an expedition to defend the territory in case it should be attacked. General Berthier, whom Buonaparté regards as his right-hand man in all cases that require intrepidity and intrigue, was superseded in the command of the army of reserve by General Macdonald, in order that he might go ambassador to Madrid: but a most dreadful pestilence broke out in Spain, which raged in several of the principal cities at the same time, and so completely paralysed all kinds of business in that country, to oblige the Consul to abandon his prey for that season.

When the French resolution of breaking the armistice was announced at Vienna, the Emperor and his court was thrown into the greatest consternation: orders were sent, in all directions, to the armies, to prepare for immediate attack: and the Emperor resolved to repair himself to the army, accompanied by his brother, the Archduke John.

The conditions of the peace agreed to by Count St. Julien were not much known, for it had been stipulated that they should be kept secret till after they were ratified; and hence the Allies had an opportunity of declaiming violently against the unreasonable terms of the French. Peace was most anxiously desired throughout the German states; and the Emperor thought it necessary to issue a Proclamation, attaching all the blame of the new hostilities to the French Government, before he quitted Vienna.

PROCLAMATION OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

"His Imperial Apostolic Majesty, equally convinced of and moved by the calamities of war, has omitted no means in his power to procure a solid and durable peace for his kingdoms and provinces, and all his faithful vassals and subjects, and, by the recent measures he

has taken, has sufficiently proved his wish for peace; yet has the French Government, unexpectedly, and without any sufficient cause, declared the armistice at an end, which had been concluded with that view.

"Though, from the repeated pacific assurances of the French Government, it is still to be hoped that the renewal of hostilities may be avoided, his Majesty has, nevertheless, resolved to give an incontrovertible proof, both to his own subjects and to all Europe, how much he has their welfare and protection at heart, by repairing in person, with his Royal Brother, the Archduke John, to his army in Germany. His Majesty, at the same time, remains unalterably disposed to accept, with pleasure, any reasonable propositions and conditions of peace, and earnestly wishes that he may soon have it in his power to announce to his faithful people a termination of the calamities of war.

The French generals were ready to commence the war: each one was at his post; and General Brune, who had received the command of the army of Italy in the room of General Massena, declared the pacific views of his government in a Proclamation to the army of Italy:

PROCLAMATION.

BRUNE, COUNSELLOR OF STATE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, to the ARMY,

"FELLOW SOLDIERS!

"OUR enemies still wish for war. National generosity had suspended the course of your triumphs.—You reposed under arms in expectation of peace.—This attempt is frustrated.—Your indignant native country calls you to new battles. I appeal to your glory, to your courage, to excite speedy repentance in the bosom of our enemies for having rejected the moderate proposals of our Government. In vain did we offer them peace. They wished to destroy the Republic in her army. The foresight of Buonaparté has proved just and rapid; he penetrated the object of the delays of the enemy; and peace must be conquered by new victories.

"At these ideas of fresh triumphs I see your souls elated, and your arms brandished in your generous hands. I hear the cry of battle resound through all your ranks. In a short time the enemy will learn that humanity alone could have suspended your efforts; but this humanity imposes new sacrifices upon us, and glory must cover them with immortal palms.

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"Brave warriors! I need not exhort you to regard the rights of the people among whom you are about to penetrate. You will never forget that liberty is their hope, and that a display of humanity and discipline can alone induce them to favour our arms.

(Signed)

"BRUNE."

With the utmost dispatch the Emperor set out for the army, and on his arrival at Altenkerchen immediately dispatched a courier to General Moreau, to propose a prolongation of the armistice only for a few days, to allow a courier to return from Paris with the answer of the First Consul to the Imperial *ultimatum*. General Moreau consented that the sword should remain sheathed for a few days, just leaving time to let the Government know the result, by telegraph, before the new year (the 23rd of September) would commence.

The 17th of September was the day on which the armistice was to expire; on the 18th Moreau wrote the following Letter to the Archduke John, from his head-quarters:

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF to His ROYAL HIGHNESS the ARCHDUKE JOHN.

Head-quarters at Nymphenbourg, 1st Complimentary day
(Sept. 18th) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"GENERAL IN CHIEF,

"I THIS moment received, by the telegraph, the answer of the Government to the dispatches brought by its courier from Vienna. I cannot better impart to you the orders with which I am charged than by literally transcribing the words in which they are conveyed.

"Announce to the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army, that the Emperor does not wish to ratify the preliminaries of peace, and that you are obliged to renew hostilities. You may however agree to an armistice for a month, if they immediately put into your hands places of security. M. de Lehrbach will immediately receive passports.

"You see, General, that the intentions of the First Consul are very decided for peace, since the renewal of hostilities depends only upon the ratification of the treaty of preliminaries concluded with M. St. Julien, and which he does not believe it his duty to expose to interminable diplomatic discussions, without some guarantee for the sincerity of the intentions of our enemies,

" I give orders to Lahorie, general of brigade, to repair to the advanced posts of the army which I command, to demand from you places of security, which a new conjuncture gives us a right to demand. If the propositions which he is charged to make you are not accepted, hostilities will commence the day after to-morrow, at sunrise (3rd Complementary day, 20th of September.) I entreat your Royal Highness to accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I am, &c.

(Signed)
(A true copy)

" MOREAU."
" DESOLLES."

At Paris the hopes of peace had greatly abated when it was known that the Emperor had himself joined the army, for the command was given to the Archduke. His Majesty had taken the sacrament and a formal leave of his family previous to quitting his capital; on the 20th of this month, therefore, the treaty of Count St. Julian was published by the French Government, as a justification of itself to the nation, and as having been kept secret as long as secrecy was useful.

PRELIMINARIES

Of Peace between FRANCE and AUSTRIA.

" His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. and the First Consul of the Republic, in the name of the French People, equally animated with the desire of putting a term to the evils of war, by a prompt, just, and solid peace, have agreed upon the following preliminary Articles:

ART. I. " There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his Majesty the Emperor and King and the Republic.

II. " Until the conclusion of a definitive treaty, the 1. in Italy and Germany, shall respectively remain in the state in which they are at present, without extending their positions more to the one side than the other. On his side, his Imperial Majesty engages to use his forces to prevent all usurpation in the States of the Pope, in Ancona; to put an end to the extraordinary in Turkey; and to prevent all interference of the French Republic at Leghorn or any other port.

III. " The treaty of Campo Formido shall be the definitive justification, excepting in cases where necessary.

IV. " His Imperial Majesty does not object

or
he
therefore

keeping the limits of the Rhine, such as they were agreed upon at Rastadt; that is, the left bank of the Rhine from the spot where the Rhine leaves the territory of Switzerland to the point where it enters the territory of the Batavian Republic; and engages, moreover, to concede to the French Republic the sovereignty and property of Frickthal, and all that belongs to the house of Austria between Zurich and Basle.

V. "The French Republic is not understood to keep Cassel, Kehl, Ehrenbreitstein, and Dusseldorf: these places will be raised, on condition that there shall not be raised on the right bank of the Rhine, and for the distance of three miles, any fortifications, either in stonework or in earth.

VI. "The indemnities which his Imperial Majesty the Emperor and King is to have in Germany, in virtue of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, shall be taken in Italy; and, therefore, it shall be reserved until the definitive treaty, to agree on the position and the quota of the said indemnities: nevertheless, it shall be established as the basis, that his Imperial Majesty the Emperor and King shall possess, besides the country which has been granted to him in Italy by the treaty of Campo Formio, an equivalent to the possession of the Archbishopric of Salzburg, the river of the Inn and the Sabra, and the Tyrol, comprising the town of Wasserbourg, on the left bank of the Inn, within a circuit of three thousand toises, and the Frickthal, which he cedes to the French Republic.

VII. "The ratifications of the present Preliminary Articles shall be exchanged at Vienna before the 27th Thermidor (Aug. 15.)

VIII. "Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications the negotiations for a definitive peace shall continue; both sides shall agree upon a place for negotiation; the plenipotentiaries shall be there in twenty days, at the latest, after the exchange.

IX. "His Majesty the Emperor and King and the First Consul of the French Republic reciprocally engage, in their word of honour, to keep the present Articles secret until they shall be ratified.

X. "The powers of M. de St. Julien being contained in a letter from the Emperor to the First Consul, the full powers, invested with the usual formalities, shall be exchanged with the ratification of the present preliminaries, which shall not bind the respective governments till after the ratification.

"We, the undersigned, have agreed upon and signed the present Preliminaries at Paris this 9th Thermidor (28th Day of July) 1800.

(Signed)

"Compte DE ST. JULIEN,"

"C. M. TALLEYRAND,"

On the 19th General Moreau addressed the army in a spirited Proclamation.

PROCLAMATION.

LIBERTY!

EQUALITY!

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

"SOLDIERS!"

"THE French Government, notwithstanding its successes in Germany and Italy, had consented to an armistice, to negotiate peace with its enemies.

"The treaty of the 28th of July, made at Paris by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Count St. Julien, is the proof of its moderation, and of its desire for peace.

"The Emperor has constantly refused to ratify it, and upon the denunciation of a renewal of hostilities, he has proposed to renew negotiation.

"Our Government consents to it; but persuaded, in common with all Europe, that our enemies have only wished to gain time to repair their losses, it demands places of security as a pledge of their sincerity.

"The First Consul, fully confident of your devotion to the Republic, and of your valour, regards peace as speedy and certain, because it is you who are charged with conquering it.

"The General-in-Chief orders this Proclamation, the treaty of the preliminaries of peace signed at Paris the 9th Thermidor (July 28th,) and his Letter to the General-in-Chief of the Austrian army, to be put among the orders of the army, and printed in French and German.

Head-quarters, Nymphenbourg, 2nd, Complimentary day.

8th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

"MOREAU."

(A true copy)

"DESOLLES."

"General of Division, and Chief of the Staff."

The Feast of the 1st Vendemaire arrived, and the gloomy expectations that filled every breast were aggravated by the unfavourableness of the weather. The moment had been calculated when new torrents of blood would begin to flow; and even the levity of the thoughtless Parisians gave way to the apprehensions that were entertained for the fate of some beloved brother, son, or friend. Every heart palpitated with suspense whilst the Consuls were attending to the funeral discourse delivered

in honour of Kleber and Desaix: but, after the Minister of the Interior had addressed the immense multitude, collected in the Temple of Mars, in a speech relating only to the Feast, he surprised the assembly by announcing tidings worthy of such a festival, contained in a dispatch from General Moreau, received by telegraph that morning:

TELEGRAPHIC BULLETIN.

LINE OF STRASBURG.

MOREAU, COMMANDER IN CHIEF of the ARMY of the RHINE to GENERAL BUONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL of the REPUBLIC.

Head-quarters, September 20.

" I HAVE concluded a new armistice: the three places of Ingoldstadt, Ulm, and Philipsburgh, are to be surrendered within five, and evacuated within ten days.

(A true copy)

" CHAPPE."

The Minister then communicated the following Note, to the citizens assembled in the Temple of Mars to celebrate the fête of the Republic.

THE FIRST CONSUL to the PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES of the DEPARTMENTS.

" THE Preliminaries of Peace were signed at Paris on the 9th Thermidor (July 28th) between Citizen Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Count St. Julien, and ratified, 24 hours after, by the Consuls. Citizen Duroc was directed to carry them to Vienna. The intrigues of the faction inimical to peace, which appears still to enjoy some credit, have induced the Emperor to refuse ratifying them. The refusal was founded upon a Note from the King of England, who demanded that his Envoys should be admitted to the Congress of Luneville, conjointly with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor.

" The Government were then forced to break off the Armistice, in order not to lose the remainder of the autumn in vain parlies.

" General Moreau had orders to communicate to the enemy's General the Preliminaries, such as they have been printed in the Official Journal, and to make known to him, that if they were not ratified in 24 hours, or if his Imperial Majesty wanted ulterior explanations, he should surrender to the French Army the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburgh, if not, that hostilities would recommence:

" The Government also made known to the King of England, that they should see no inconvenience in admitting his Envoys to the Congress of Luneville, if he would consent to a Naval Truce, which

should offer to France the same advantage which the continuation of the Continental Truce gives to the Emperor.

"The Government has this moment received by the telegraph the news, 'that his Majesty, the Emperor, has himself proceeded to his army on the Inn, has consented to surrender the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philippsburg, which are this day occupied by the troops of the Republic; and that M. de Lehrbach, furnished with the necessary powers from his Majesty, the Emperor, is at the head-quarters at Alt-Oettingen, with orders to repair to Luneville.

"The difficulties which the conditions of a maritime truce naturally present, will still lead to some delays; but if the two Governments do not agree on the conditions of the said truce, then France, and his Majesty, the Emperor, will treat separately for a particular peace on the basis of the Preliminaries; and if, which cannot be imagined, the English party still should be able to influence the minister of Vienna, the troops of the Republic will fear neither snow, nor the rigour of the seasons, and will carry on the war to all extremity during the winter, without leaving time for the enemy to form new armies.

"Thus the principles of the government are extreme moderation in the conditions, but a firm resolution to restore peace to the continent speedily.

"The most vigorous measures have been taken to second, in this essential object, the will of the French people.

"Such is the whole secret of the politics of their Government."

On the second Complimentary day, 8th year (19th September, 1800) the Emperor empowered the Count Lehrbach and Baron Lauer to treat with Lahorie, general of brigade. The next morning was signed the following Act:

CONVENTION.

Of a PROLONGATION of a SUSPENSION of HOSTILITIES between the FRENCH ARMY of the RHINE and the ARMY of his IMPERIAL MAJESTY in GERMANY.

COUNT Lehrbach, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty, with his army of Germany, and Baron Lauer, Field Marshal of the armies of his Majesty, on one side, and Victor Faneau Lahorie, General of Brigade of the French army of the Rhine on the other, charged respectively with full powers necessary to conclude and sign a Convention relative to a prolongation of the suspension of arms, have agreed as follows:—

ART. I. "His Majesty the Emperor and King, at the demand of

French Republic, and with a view of giving a
 encouragement of war, consents that the places
 with the forts depending upon them, and
 comprised in the line of demarcation
 of the 15th of July last (26th Messidor,) shall
 of the French army a pledge of his

in the places shall be allowed a free
 to them, and shall repair to the Im-

of these places, as well by the garrisons as
 shall take place within ten days at
 French army shall furnish every facility
 transports of every kind, which shall be at
 of the Emperor and King. As to what re-
 of the places, one of the gates of the great
 delivered up in five days to the disposition
 shall be determined by the delegates,
 in the shortest possible time to verify

and provisions shall also be taken
 shall extend to the artillery, with the
 the Empire; the latter shall be verified and
 to that effect.

of evacuating the places, as well as the sub-
 of the sick who cannot be transported with
 with the shortest possible delay.

of the above-mentioned dispositions there shall
 of the armistice, and suspension of hostilities be-
 of his Imperial Majesty, and of his allies, and the
 of the French Republic, for forty-five days, be-
 and including fifteen days notice for the

if that should take place,
 in-Chief of the army of the Rhine engages
 they have been commenced by the French
 immediately cease.

line of demarcation fixed by the convention of the
 (26th Messidor) is preserved, in all its details, under
 included under Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, above
 which may follow.

The French army of the Rhine shall return and stop upon
 the far, and the Imperial army of Germany upon
 of the Inn, each at a distance of three thousand toises
 of the places of their course; only there shall be

placed a chain of advanced posts upon the line of demarcation fixed by the convention of the 15th July (26th Messidor.)

X. "The dispositions of the said treaty shall be executed in every thing which is not contrary to the present.

(The 8th article of the convention of the 15th July (26th Messidor) is not only applicable to the inhabitants of the places above-mentioned in all its dispositions; but the General in Chief is also invited to take into consideration the situation in which these inhabitants have been placed by the disasters of the war.)

XI. "The present Convention shall be sent by couriers to all the commanders of corps belonging to the respective armies, both in Germany and Italy, with the utmost expedition, in order that not only hostilities may be and may remain suspended; but that the execution of it may immediately have effect and terminate at the period absolutely necessary in regard to distance.

XII. "Delegates shall be named by the generals of the two armies for the execution of the articles of the above Convention who can demand that measure:

"Done in duplicate at Hohenlinden, the 19th September,
(3rd Complimentary day, 8th year.)"

(Signed

"COUNT DE LEHRBACH.

"LAUER, Field Marshal.

"VICTOR F. LAHOIRE.

"MOREAU, Gen. in Chief."

(A true copy)

In reviewing the whole conduct of Austria in this latter altercation, it is impossible to observe anything great, except what the partial eyes of Englishmen will reluctantly discern—the magnanimity with which she hazarded herself to oblige the English Government; for though every feeling of honour called upon her to obtain the object for which the war had been entered upon; that struggle, which might have been denominated a laudable perseverance, so long as success could be hoped for, assumed the character of an irritating and vexatious obstinacy, from the repeated proofs that the Emperor had received of his utter inability to raise the necessary supplies. In this point of view the conduct of the court of Vienna was truly despicable; but, after having in fact

acknowledged its weakness by the treaty of Campo Formio, it had lost all that such a frivolous contest was calculated to secure, and, therefore, must have been actuated by some other motive; that motive has been traced, by some Englishmen, up to the desire of obtaining a restoration of lost territories at the expense of England, in exchange for the conquered colonies to be ceded to France: but this would have been a policy too absurd for a council of idiots to have pursued; for by suffering France to have continued at war with England for a few years, till she had turned her attention to other objects, and by using the interval of peace to have consolidated the resources of the Empire, Francis would have been able to take the field, at the end of that period, in order to have recovered those territories himself, at as small an expense, and with a much greater chance of success, than he could keep it, surrounded as he was on all sides after the battle of Marengo. The truth is, that England had shewn a sincere desire to aid the Confederacy, and had expended large sums for that purpose; and though the injudicious arrangements of the British ministers had rendered those exertions generally ineffectual, yet most of the powers gave the country credit for its good intentions: and the English cabinet having made it a particular point with the Emperor, that he should make the last possible effort upon this occasion to obtain a general congress, he took that opportunity of shewing the obligation he felt himself under to that power.

THE END OF CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

The Negotiation for a Naval Armistice terminated.... Austrian and French Plenipotentiaries appointed to negotiate at Luneville. ..More French Violations....More English Expeditions....Surrender of Malta....Convention between France and America....Efforts to carry on " War in Disguise."

THE conferences relative to the naval armistice, which had been carried on between M. Otto, the French commissary at London, for the exchange of prisoners, and certain persons appointed by the English ministry, in consequence of a communication made to M. Talleyrand, by the Imperial minister Baron Thugut, at the request of Lord Minto, on the 11th of August, continued without relaxation until the 8th of October, when the correspondence was closed by M. Otto.

Little doubt had been entertained of bringing this difficult subject to a satisfactory conclusion, after the interchange of the first notes; but feeble as even those hopes were, they were entirely dissipated from the time that the Emperor had resolved to give up his fortresses. Several projects and counter projects had passed between the negociators, when M. Otto desired a verbal explanation of the leading points in discussion, and in the course of conversation with Mr. Hammond, threw out the most pointed assertions of the determination of France, in the event of the naval armistice not being concluded, to pursue the course of her victories in Germany and Italy, and of the facilities which the conquest of Naples and Sicily, (events which he regarded, as inevitable) would afford to the French Government of obtaining, by force, those objects relative to Egypt and Malta, which disinclined the British ministry to agree to the armistice.

Next, to sending supplies to the colonies, Buonaparté's aim was to separate the Allies in his negotiations with them, and when he saw that he could not gain the former point, he resolved to avail himself of the means he possessed of obtaining the latter. No sooner had he therefore learned, by the result of Mr. Hammond's conversation with M. Otto, that the British were firm in their resolution, than he ordered that the negotiation should cease, as far as it contemplated the congress at Luneville. In consequence of instructions to that effect, Mons. Otto informed the British ministry, that the notes last exchanged, and several important events which had subsequently changed the basis upon which the armistice had been proposed, had determined the First Consul to put an end to the negotiation upon that footing; but that he was, notwithstanding, invariably disposed to receive any overtures relative to a separate negotiation between France and Great Britain, and that the mode of such overture entirely depended upon the option of his Majesty: that when the King should think proper to send for that purpose a plenipotentiary to Paris, he was authorised not only to consent to it but to deliver to him the necessary passport. That, if, on the contrary, his Majesty should prefer that the preliminary negotiations should be begun at London, special powers would be sent to him for that purpose.

The door to peace was thus left open; but it is unaccountable how capriciously the English cabinet conducted itself, having wasted two months in a squabble which every man of plain sense had seen would end in vanity; and which, even if it had terminated favourably, would only have been a preparatory step towards peace, and it refused to treat now that peace itself became the object of the negotiation!

LETTER

From MR. HAMMOND to M. OTTO.

" SIR,

Downing Street, October, 9, 1800.

" I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, of yesterday's date; and I am directed, in return, to acquaint you, that his Majesty's government entirely agrees in the opinion there expressed, that all further discussion of the terms of a naval armistice would be superfluous, as the only object which it was proposed to his Majesty to secure by such an arrangement has, in the mean time, been made the ground of separate sacrifices required from his Ally.

" With respect to the proposal of opening negotiations for a separate peace; his Majesty, retaining always the sincere desire which he has uniformly expressed for the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, must, at the same time, renew his former declarations of an invariable determination to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his Allies; and must, therefore, steadily decline to enter into any measures tending to separate his interests from those of the powers who shall continue to make a common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " GEORGE HAMMOND."

The necessity of continuing the war for the interest of his Allies, as here expressed in the King's name, affirmed pretty strongly that the Emperor did not sincerely design to make peace, at least it gave the French a pretence for suspecting him; and, whether it was a mere pretence or not that was wanting, the Consul took such measures as plainly indicated that he should not act upon the peace before it came.

Count Cobentzel, the Austrian prime minister, was appointed to treat with the brother of the Consul (Joseph Buonaparté) at Luneville, and the armistice which had been agreed upon, both in Germany and Italy, was observed by the main armies; but this did not prevent the French troops from seizing upon the states of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for no better reason, than that the Austrian armies were recruiting in his dominions, and

that the English ships took shelter in his principal port, Leghorn.

Of all the powers that had entered into the alliance against France the Grand Duke had evinced the least zeal, and had acted most from necessity, and the ruin that Buonaparté was preparing for him was not called for by any species of violent or dishonourable hostility that he had attempted, but because he was a branch of the House of Austria. This was one of those occasions in which the Consul (though not a coward) committed the fault that cowards are always guilty of, that of exercising his wrath principally against the weak. In this marauding excursion the French took a vast quantity of property belonging to the English, Portuguese, and Neapolitans, besides forty sail of ships in the port of Leghorn.

The English had an expedition, at this period, less profitably employed on the coast of Spain, quacking about, under the command of that great general Sir James Pulteney ! and seeking for some city, town, or village, that wanted to be taken ! but, at last, quitted the pursuit, as wisely as King Saul, who set out after his father's asses and could not find them ! Slight attempts were made against Ferrol and Cadiz, but without any other advantage being obtained, more than that of augmenting the ridicule that all mankind attach to an English expedition.

It is no detraction to say, that the English gained no honour by these expeditions ; they were made at a time when Spain was smarting very severely under two of the most bitter scourges that can afflict mankind,—pestilence and famine ; the scourge of war hovered over their coasts and threatened to complete the climax of woe. It was suspected, and charged upon Mr. Pitt's ministry, that the attacks upon Spain were made in consequence of her calamitous situation to take advantage of her weakness : this, however, is an imputation for which there is not the smallest authority, as the expedition was fitted out

and commissioned before the malady was known exist.

The people on the continent observed upon this occasion, that the English ministry appeared to have adopted new tactics of offensive war: "Their armies," said they, "are everywhere except where they may be of service to their allies: they threaten Holland, Brittany, Provence, and Spain, but they hurt nobody! the Emperor may think he has an ally; but has he one?"

Buonaparté did not long enjoy the exultation arising out of these repeated disappointments of the English; nor did the people at home continue long in the enjoyment of the delusions that he had encouraged as to the safety of Malta; for before it was known in France what effect the confident assertions of M. Otto upon that head would produce in the British cabinet: news was received in France of its surrender to the British forces.

The French papers admitted that in the blockade of this island, for two years and five days, the English shewed an equal degree of firmness and intrepidity. "Their vessels were constantly cruising," they state, "before the ports of the island, braving and defying storms and seasons:" the French garrison and the inhabitants, in the mean time, underwent the most dreadful privations; for a long time they were reduced to subsist on asses and mules flesh, which sold at 1s. 6d. per pound. Towards the conclusion of the siege the houses were searched for rats and mice, for food! a fowl, at this time, cost upwards of 3l.; a sucking-pig was sold for 500 florins; an egg for 1s. and every other article in proportion! The only provision left was bread, the French having found on their arrival immense magazines of corn. Eight hundred of the garrison are said, however, to have perished during the blockade through famine and disease. Indeed, it would be impossible to bestow too much praise upon the zeal, patience, skill, and indefatigable exertions of the British officers, both marine and military, as well as the

Officers and sailors employed upon this service; for General Pigot, in his dispatches, passed great encomiums upon General Moncrief and his aid-de-camp Captain Dalrymple, as also, upon Captain Ball, of the navy, and Lieutenant Vivion, of the military; but, more particularly, upon General Graham, whose promptitude had forced the place to surrender much earlier than it otherwise would have done.

This officer possesses a fortune of upwards of six thousand pounds per annum, and was member for the county of Perth. He had, previously, been distinguished as a gentleman of great activity and enterprise. He paid a visit to Toulon when it was in the hands of the British; and, although he was then a private individual, sustaining no military character, yet, as he possessed a local knowledge of the country, he led the British in several sorties which were very successful, and which are very handsomely acknowledged in the official accounts published of these events. Upon his arrival in this country he raised two battalions, which formed the 90th regiment. Soon after, Government employed him officially with the Austrian army in Italy, where he was shut up in Mantua with General Wurmser. Immediately upon the investment of this fortress, Colonel Graham undertook to hurry those who were coming to its relief, by apprising them of its real state; and, accordingly, made his way through the enemy's lines under the cloud of night, and reached in safety the Austrian camp. He was next employed under General Stewart in taking Minorca; and the Gazette bears testimony, that, owing to him, with two regiments surprising a Spanish post, that valuable island was surrendered with so little loss to the British. Last of all, he was employed against Malta, and to him belongs the glory of having principally contributed to gain a possession, which was for his country, both in a military and commercial point of view, the most important achievement it had made during the war.

Malta is an island between Sicily and the coast of Africa, twenty-one miles in length and ten in breadth: it is very rocky, yielding little corn and wine, but, on the other hand, great quantities of cotton and fruit. The coral fishery on the coast is pretty considerable. There is but a single spring of fresh water in the whole island. The language of the country people is bad Arabic, but the inhabitants of the towns speak Italian. Its chief town is Valette, which is a very strong fortification between two harbours, and the castle of St. Elmo: at the time of its capture it was the residence of the Grand Master: it was built in 1566, and named after the grand master, John de la Valette. It contained a great number of convents, both for monks and nuns, a tribunal of the inquisition, and was lately the see of a bishop. The number of its inhabitants is computed at twenty thousand.

The island of Malta, with the two smaller ones of Gozo and Comieno, belonged to an order of knights instituted at the commencement of the 12th century, at Jerusalem, by the Western Christians, the members of which were at first called Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, because it was their duty to attend pilgrims in the hospital erected by merchants of Amalfi, together with a chapel consecrated to St. John. To this duty they soon added another; namely, that of accompanying and protecting pilgrims from the attacks of robbers and enemies; and, at length, the members of this society were divided into three classes, called Knights, Chaplains, and Servants at Arms. The first performed military services, the second executed the ecclesiastical functions, and the third took care of pilgrims, and of the sick (among whom at that time was a great number afflicted with the leprosy.) Being expelled out of Palestine, and, finally, from St. Jean d'Acre, by the Mahometans, they maintained possession of the island of Cyprus till the commencement of the 15th century, when they were obliged to remove to Rhodes, till, in 1532,

they were likewise driven from thence by the Turkish Emperor Soliman I. After this they went first to Candia, and then partly to Venice, Rome, and Viterbo, but principally to Nice, Villa Franca, and Syracuse, in Sicily, till, in 1530, the Emperor Charles V. gave them the island of Malta, together with the two smaller ones, as a fief of the kingdom of Sicily; whence they were called Knights of Malta. In this new situation, in 1565, they were attacked by a powerful Turkish army, which was, however, compelled to retire with great loss.

The Order is divided into eight nations, or languages; namely, that of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany, Castile, and England. Provence had the first place, because Gerard, the founder of the Order, was of that country. The English nation, which has been separated from the Order since 1537, was, in 1781, replaced, with the Bavarian, founded by the Elector Charles Theodore. The possessions of the Order, which were greatly increased by the suppression of the Knights Templars, at the commencement of the 14th century suffered a great diminution in those countries, which embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. Of late years, besides the Bavarian institution, they obtained an addition by the establishment of the grand Priory of Ostrog, in Poland; and, in 1777, the Order of St. Anthony, with all its possessions, was united with that of Malta.

The head of this Order is styled Grand Master of the Holy Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and Guardian of the Poor of Jesus Christ. By foreign powers he is entitled Altezza Eminentissima, and has the rank of a prince. Next to him the principal officers are the heads of the Eight Nations. After them come the Priors, the chief of whom is the Grand Prior of Germany, who is a Prince of the Empire.

The Masters of the Order, in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Pomerania, are in some degree subject to him.

The Knights, properly so called, must all be of noble

extraction, with respect to families, from Florence, Sienna, Genoa, and Lucca. Commerce, which by many is looked upon as a degradation, is not esteemed any detriment if the nobility of the family be properly acknowledged. Those who can prove their noble descent in the most satisfactory manner are called *Cavallieri di Giustizia*, (knights by right) and they whose title is rather dubious, but are admitted on account of their own merit, are styled *Cavallieri di Grazia* (knights by favour.) The obligation of the Knights to make at least three crusades against the Turks and Barbary corsairs is not very strictly observed. The naval force of the Order was, in 1770, composed of four galleys, three galliots, four ships of sixty guns, a frigate of thirty-six, and several small vessels.

The Knights follow the rules of the Augustines, bind themselves by a vow to poverty, obedience, and chastity, by which, however, in the Mastership of Brandenburg, where the Knights are Protestants, is not understood a single life, but fidelity to the marriage-bed. In time of war they wear a red belt, with a silver-coloured cross, but in peace a long black cloak, with an eight-cornered white cross on the left side and one of gold on the breast. In 1798 some of the Knights had traitorously conspired to give up that island to Buonaparté, on his way to Egypt: but the majority, as well as the principal inhabitants, were decidedly averse to the French Government.

Having maintained his post with unexampled firmness, the French commander hoped still to husband his provisions, by sending away the two frigates, *Justice* and *Diana*, at the end of August: but it was found that all further resistance would be only vexatious, for the reasons stated in the following

M I N U T E

Of the COUNCIL OF WAR.—September 2.

“ THE generals, the commanding officers by land and sea, the commissaries of war and of the marine, the commanders of the forts, and the officers of all ranks, who command the detachment of the different

Corps, having been convoked by the general of division, Vaubois, Commander-in-Chief in the islands of Malta and Goza, to hold a council of war; and, being assembled at the National Palace of the city of Malta, on the West side:

" Having heard the report of General Vaubois, from which it appears that the magazines of subsistence of the place have been entirely exhausted for more than a month! that the magazines of drinkables are in the same state; and that the bread, the only food which remains to support the garrison and the population, will be completely finished by the 22nd of this month: the Council considering

" That the garrison of Malta having been reduced to a ratio of one-third for the last two years, has fulfilled with honour the duty which was imposed upon it, of preserving this place to the Republic till the last extremity; that after having repelled all the attacks the enemy has made upon it, it has, by its fortitude and energy, obliged the enemy to persevere in a strict blockade, which does not permit us to hope for any succours from without!

" That the forces which the enemy employ to secure the blockade, both by land and sea, do not afford the brave garrison of Malta any opportunity of supplying themselves by their courage or devotion, in a country naturally barren and full of fortifications, which nature and art have multiplied, to confine us in our fortifications; that, besides, every enterprise for that purpose would be unsuccessful, from the precautions the enemy has taken, according to the reports of the deserters, to keep their command of the fleet:

" That we cannot, without risking the existence of twelve thousand men, of which the population consists, and of the garrison of this place, defer longer to enter into a parley with the enemy, for the purpose of obtaining an honourable capitulation, and such a one as is due to the brave soldiers who have so long suffered for their country:

" That the marine has partaken with honour of the labour and privations of the garrison; and that it has sought, by sending away the two frigates, the Justice and the Diana, to diminish the losses the Republic will suffer in these parts:

" That the labours of war and those of humanity sufficiently authorise, the General, commandant of this place, to enter into a negotiation with the enemy:

" Has resolved, that General Vaubois shall, on the 4th of this month demand a parley of the British commander, to propose a capitulation; and that Rear-Admiral Villeneuve shall join to stipulate in favour of the marines, to the end that they may have the same advantages as shall be granted to the garrison.

Here follow the signatures.

(A true copy)

" Dor, Commissary of War."

ARTICLES.

Of CAPITULATION between the GENERAL of DIVISION, VAUBOIS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the ISLANDS of MALTA and GOZA, and REAR-ADMIRAL VILLENEUVE commanding the MARINE at MALTA, on the one PART; and MAJOR-GENERAL PIGOT, commanding the TROOPS of his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and of his ALLIES, and CAPTAIN MARTIN, commanding the VESSELS of his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and his ALLIES before MALTA, on the other PART.

ART. I. "THE garrison of Malta, and of the dependant forts, shall march out, to be embarked and carried to Marseilles, at the day and hour agreed on, with all the honours of war; that is to say, with drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, preceded by two pieces of cannon, 4-pounders, with their carriages, to be served by the artillery, and a baggage-waggon for the infantry. The officers civil and military, of the marine, and all belonging to that department shall be also conducted to Toulon.—Answer. The garrison shall receive the honours of war demanded; but, as it is impossible they shall be all embarked immediately, they shall be supplied according to the following arrangement:

"As soon as the Capitulation shall be signed, the forts Ricasoli and Tignie shall be delivered to the troops of his Britannic Majesty and the vessels shall enter into the port. The national gate shall be occupied by a guard, composed of an equal number of French and English, till the vessels shall be ready to receive the first embarkation: then all the garrison shall defile, with the honours of war, to the fleet, where they shall lay down their arms: those who shall not be included in the first embarkation shall occupy the island and the fort Mannel, having an armed guard to prevent any persons going about the country. The garrison shall be considered prisoners of war, and shall not serve against his Britannic Majesty till exchanged; to this effect the respective officers shall give their word of honour. All the artillery, ammunition, and public magazines, of all sorts, shall be delivered up to the officers fixed on for that purpose, as also the inventories and the public papers.

II. "The general of brigade, Chanez, Commandant of the place and the forts, the general of brigade, Dehennezel, Commandant of Artillery and Engineers, the officers, subaltern officers, and soldiers belonging to the land forces; the officers, men, and crews, and every other description of persons employed in the marine, Citizen Tierre Alphonse Guys, commissary general of Commercial Affairs for the French Republic in Syria and Palestine, accidentally at Malta with his family, the persons in military and civil employments, the ordonnateurs and commissaries of war and of the navy, the Civil Admini

strations, and all Members whatsoever of the constituted authorities, shall have liberty to carry away their arms, their personal effects, and to dispose of their property, of whatever description.—Answer. Granted, with the exception of the arms laid down by the soldiers conformable to the provisions of the first Article. The subaltern officers shall retain their sabres.

III. "All persons, of whatsoever nation who bore arms in the service of the Republic during the siege, shall be considered as forming part of the garrison.—Ans. Granted.

IV. "The division shall be embarked at the expense of his Britannic Majesty. Every soldier or person employed in any civil departments shall receive, during his passage, the ratios allowed to the rank of each, according to the French laws and regulations. The officers, members of the civil administrations, who pass into France, shall enjoy the same treatment, themselves and their families, by assimilating them to the military degrees corresponding with the elevation of their functions.—Ans. Granted, conformable to the usage of the English marine, which allows only the same ratio to all persons of whatever rank or condition.

V. "There shall be furnished the necessary number of carriages and boats, for carrying and putting on board the personal property of the generals, their aide-de-camps, the ordonnateurs, and commissaries, the chiefs of corps, the officers, Citizen Guys, the civil and military administrators by land and sea; as also the papers belonging to the Councils of the administration of the corps, those of the commissaries of war by land and sea, of the Paymaster of the Divisions, and of the several other persons employed in the civil and military administrations. Their effects and papers shall not be subjected to any search or inspection, under the security given by the generals, who stipulate that they shall not contain any public or private property.—Ans. Granted.

VI. "All ships, of every description, belonging to the Republic, in a state capable of putting to sea, shall depart at the same time with the division on their return to a French port, after having been furnished with the necessary provisions.—Refused.

VII. "The sick capable of being removed shall be embarked with the division, and supplied with provisions, medicines, surgical chests, effects, and officers of health, necessary for their maintenance and cure during the passage. Those who shall remain behind shall be treated properly, the General-in-Chief leaving at Malta a physician and a surgeon in the service of France to take care of them. They shall be furnished with lodgings, gratis, should they leave the hospital, and be sent back to France when their situation will permit, with every thing belonging to them, and in the same manner as the gar-

rison. The General-in Chief by land and sea, in evacuating Malta, confide themselves to the loyalty and humanity of the English General.—Granted.

VIII. " All persons of whatever nation, inhabitants of the Island of Malta, or others, shall neither be troubled, disturbed, or molested for their political opinions, not for any acts done during the time that Malta has been in the power of the French Government. This disposition applies principally in its whole extent to those who have carried arms, or have filled employments, civil, administrative, or military. Their conduct shall not be liable to enquiry in any respect, much less shall they be persecuted for acts done in office.

This article does not appear to be a proper object of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who shall wish to remain, or shall be permitted to do so, may be assured that they shall be treated with justice and humanity, and enjoy the full protection of the laws.

IX. " The French who inhabit Malta, and all the Maltese of whatever description, who may be desirous to follow the French army, and repair to France with their properties, shall be at liberty to do so. Those who possess moveable or fixed property, which cannot be immediately disposed of by sale, and who shall have an intention to become inhabitants of France, shall have six months from the date of the present capitulation to sell their landed or other property. These properties shall be respected. They shall have power to act in person, if they remain behind; or by their agent on the spot, should they follow the division. When they shall have finished their business, within the stipulated time, they shall be furnished with passports for France, and be at liberty to carry away their remaining property, and also their capitals in money and bills.—Ans. Granted, with reference to the answer of the preceding Article.

X. " Immediately after the signing of the capitulation, the English General shall leave it entirely at the disposition of the General commanding the French troops to send a felucca, with the necessary crew; and an officer, charged to carry the capitulation to the French Government. He shall receive the necessary passports for his safe passage.—Ans. Granted.

XI. " As soon as the articles of capitulation shall be signed, the gate called Des Bombes shall be surrendered to the English General, and shall be occupied by a guard of English and French, each of equal force. These guards shall not suffer either the soldiers of the besieging troops, or any inhabitants of the island whatever, to enter the city, until the French troops shall have been embarked, and out of sight of the port. In proportion as the embarkation is completed, the English troops shall occupy the posts by which they may enter the several places. The English General will feel that these precautions are indispensable, to prevent any subject of dispute, and that

the Articles of Capitulation may be religiously observed.—Ans. Granted, conformable to the provisions in the answer to the first article. All precautions shall be also taken to prevent the armed Maltese from all access to the posts occupied by the French troops.

XII. " All alienations or sales of moveable or immoveable property by the French Government during the time it has been in possession of Malta, and all transactions between individuals, shall be held inviolable.—Ans. Granted, so far as they shall be just and lawful.

XIII. " The Agents of Allied Powers, who shall be found in the Valetta upon the surrender of the place, shall be in no wise molested, and their persons and properties shall be guaranteed by the present capitulation.—Ans. Granted.

XIV. " Every ship of war or merchantman coming from France with the Republican flag, and which shall present itself for entrance into the port, shall not be considered lawful prize, nor shall its crew be made prisoners during a space of twenty days from the date of the present capitulation, but it shall be sent back safe to France.—Ans. Refused.

XV. " The General-in-Chief, and the other generals, shall be embarked with their aids-de-camp, the officers attached to them, as also the ordonnateurs and their suite, without respective separation.—Ans. Granted.

XVI. " The prisoners made during the siege, comprising the crews of the William Tell and Diane frigate, shall be given up and treated like the garrison. The same provision shall extend to the crew of the Justice, if it was taken on its way to one of the ports of the Republic.—Ans.

" The crew of the William Tell is already exchanged, and that of the Diana is to be sent to Minorca, to be there exchanged immediately.

XVII. " Nobody in the service of the Republic shall be subject to any act of reprisals of any kind, under any pretence whatever.—Ans. Granted.

XVIII. " Should any difficulty arise respecting the terms and conditions of the capitulation, they shall be interpreted in the sense most favourable to the garrison.—Ans. Granted according to justice.

Done and agreed upon at Malta, 18th Fructidor, (Sept. 5), in the 8th year of the French Republic.

(Signed) " General of Division, VAUBOIS.

" Rear Admiral, VILLENEUVE.

" PICOT, Major General.

" MARTIN, Captain,

Commanding the ships of his Britannic Majesty and his Allies, before Malta."

The loss of Malta was very much regretted by the French, as might be augured from the pains taken by the journals to provide a set-off for it, by such a frivolous event as the conclusion of a treaty with America. Of the journals in France it is necessary to observe, that, after the usurpation of Buonaparté, the *Moniteur* was adopted as the Government gazette; thence it has been concluded, that whatever appears in the *Moniteur* may be considered as in unison with the sentiment of the Consul, and this opinion is correct; but it must not be, therefore, inferred, that the *Moniteur* alone speaks the sentiment of the Government: for the Minister of Justice (as Buonaparté's chief executioner is called) without any law or authority, more than the order of the Despot, seizes the presses, types, authors, printers, and publishers, concerned in promulgating any fact or opinion not agreeable to the Government, as often as he pleases; and the certainty of being transported, without trial or any appearance of justice, keeps the French press free from any article or insinuation that the Minister of Justice has not approved. When, therefore, the French papers say, that the treaty with America will console them for the loss of Malta, it must be taken as the sentiment of the Government; and it becomes worth while to preserve that Treaty, in order to shew posterity what are these mighty advantages that it is calculated to secure to the great empires of France and America.

CONVENTION

Between the FRENCH REPUBLIC and the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

“ THE First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, and the President of the United States of America, equally animated with the desire to put an end to the differences which have arisen between the two States, have respectively named their plenipotentiaries, and have given them full powers to negotiate, and to terminate these difficulties, viz.—the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, has nominated

as Plenipotentiaries of the said Republic, the Citizens Joseph Buonaparté, Ex-ambassador of the French Republic at Rome; and the Counsellor of State, Charles Pierre Claret Fleurier, Member of the National Institute, and of the Board of Longitude of France, Counsellor of State, and the President of the Section of Marine; and Pierre Louis Rœderer, Member of the National Institute, Counsellor of State, and President of the Section of Interior: and the President of the United States of America, by and with the consent of the Senate of the said States, has named as their plenipotentiaries, Oliver Wentworth Chief Justice of the United States; William Richardson Davie, heretofore Governor of North Carolina; and W. Vans Murray, Resident Minister of the United States at the Hague.

These, after having deliberately and maturely discussed the respective interests, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ART. I. "There shall be a settled, inviolable, and true and sincere friendship between the French Republic and the United States of America, as well as between their countries, territories, cities, and towns, without any exceptions either of persons or of places.

II. The Ministers Plenipotentiary on each side not being able to agree for the present relatively to the Treaty of Alliance of the 6th of February, 1778; to the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, of the same date; and to the Convention, of the date of the 14th November, 1788; nor relatively to the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties shall negotiate ulteriorly, with respect to these objects, within a convenient time; and, till they shall have come to an agreement on these points, the said Treaties and Convention shall have no effect, and the relations between the two nations shall be regulated as follows:

III. "The vessels appertaining to the State which have been taken on either side, or may be taken before the ratifications are exchanged, shall be restored.

IV. "The property captured and not yet condemned definitively, or which may be captured before the exchange of the ratifications, except contraband merchandise destined for an enemy's port, shall be mutually restored, on the following proofs of property; viz.

"On either side the proof of property relatively to merchant ships, armed, or not armed, shall be a passport, in manner and form as follows:

"To all those to whom these presents shall come, be it known, That leave and permission has been granted to—, master and commander of the ship named—, of the town of—, of the burthen of—tons, or thereabouts; and being at present in the port and harbour of—, and bound for—, laden with—; that, after his ship has been visited, and before his departure, he

shall declare on oath, in the presence of the officers authorised for that purpose, that the said ships appertain to one or more subjects of —, of which the act shall be placed at the end of these presents; and, in like manner, that he shall observe, and cause to be observed by his crew, the maritime ordinances and regulations; and he shall give in a list, signed and attested by witnesses, containing the names and surnames, the places of birth and of abode of the persons composing the crew of his ship and of all those who shall embark in it, and whom he shall not take on board without the knowledge and permission of the officers authorised for that purpose; and in every port or harbour into which he shall enter with his ship he shall produce the present permission to the officers authorised to inspect it, and shall make to them a faithful report of what has passed during his voyage; and he shall bear the colours, arms, and ensigns of the French Republic or the United States during his said voyage. In witness of which we have signed these presents, and caused them to be countersigned by —, and have affixed to them the seal of our arms.

“ ‘ Given at —, in the year of grace the —.’ ”

“ And this Passport shall be sufficient without any other document, notwithstanding any regulation to the contrary. It shall not be required that this Passport shall be renewed or revoked, whatever number of voyages the said ship may have made, at least, if it has not returned home within the space of a year.

“ With respect to the cargo; the proofs shall be certificates, stating the place from which the vessel sails and that to which it is bound, in such a manner that prohibited and contraband merchandise may be distinguished by the certificates, which certificates shall have been made out by the officers of the place from which the ship has sailed in the form usual in the country; and if these passports or certificates, or both of them, shall have been destroyed by accident or taken away by force, the want of them shall be supplied by any other proof of property admissible by the general usage of nations.

“ With respect to ships which are not merchant ships, the proofs shall be the commission they bear. This article shall take effect from the date of the signature of the present Convention; and if, from the date of the said signature, any property shall have been condemned contrary to the spirit of the said Convention, before this stipulation was known, the property thus condemned shall be, without delay, restored, or its value refunded.

V. “ The debts contracted by either of the two nations with the individuals of the other, or between the individuals of the one and the individuals of the other, shall be discharged, or payment legally enforced, as if there had been no misunderstanding between the two

States; but the clause shall not extend to indemnities claimed for captures or for condemnations.

VI. " Commerce shall be free between the two contracting parties. The ships of the two nations and their privateers, as also their prizes, shall be treated in the respective ports like those of the most favoured nation; and, in general, both parties shall enjoy, in each other's ports, with respect to commerce and navigation, the privileges of the most favoured nation.

VII. " The citizens and inhabitants of the United States shall be at liberty to dispose, by will, donation, or otherwise, of their goods, moveable or immoveable, which they may possess in the European territory of the French Republic; and the citizens of the French Republic shall have the same liberty, with respect to the goods moveable or immoveable, which they may possess in the territory of the United States in favour of such persons as it shall seem to them good. The citizens and inhabitants of either of the two States who shall be heirs to property, moveable or immoveable, situated in the other, shall succeed, *ab intestat*, without being required to take out letters of naturalization, and without this stipulation being contested or prevented under any pretext whatever; and the said heirs, whether by particular title or *ab intestat*, shall be exempt from all tax whatever in the two nations. It is agreed, that this article shall not derogate in any manner from the law as at present in force in the two nations, or which may hereafter be promulgated against emigration; and also, that in the case when the laws of one of the two nations shall limit foreigners in the exercise of their rights over immoveable property, that immoveable property may be sold or otherwise disposed of in favour of the inhabitants of the country in which it is situated, and the other nation shall be free to enact similar laws.

VIII. " In order to favour commerce on either side, it is agreed, that if, which God forbid, war should take place between the two nations, there shall be allowed, on each side, to the merchants and other citizens and inhabitants respectively, six months from the declaration of war, during which time they shall be at liberty to retire with their effects and moveables which they may take with them, send away, or sell, as they shall choose, without the least impediment. Their effects, and still less their persons, shall not be liable during the space of six months to be seized; but, on the contrary, passports shall be given them for themselves and for the vessels and effects which they may wish to carry or send away, these passports shall serve as protections against any insult or capture by privateers; and if, during the term above-mentioned, they shall suffer any injury in their persons or effects, they shall receive complete satisfaction.

IX. " The debts due from the individuals of one of the nations to

the individuals of the other, shall not, in any case of war or national quarrel be sequestered or confiscated, no more than the actions or sums placed in the public funds, or in public or private banks.

X. "The two Contracting Parties may appoint for the protection of trade commercial agents, who shall reside in France, and in the United States: each of the parties may except such a place as it shall judge proper from the places where the residence of these agents may be fixed. Before any agent can exercise his functions, he must be accepted in the received forms by the party to which he is sent; and when he shall have been accepted, and have received his *exequatur*, he shall enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by similar agents from the most favoured nations.

XI. "The citizens of the French Republic shall not pay in the ports, harbours, roads, countries, islands, cities, and places of the United States, any other or greater dues or imposts of whatever nature they may be, than those which the most favoured nations are or shall be required to pay, and they shall enjoy the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in point of trade, navigation, and commerce, either in passing from one part of the said State to another, or in going thither or returning from or to any part of the world, which the said nations enjoy, or shall enjoy.

"And reciprocally the Citizens of the United States shall enjoy, in the territory of the French Republic in Europe, the same privileges and immunities, as well for their property and persons, as for what concerns their trade, navigation, and commerce.

XII. "The citizens of the two nations may bring their vessels and merchandize (contraband goods always excepted) into any port whatever belonging to the enemy of the other nation; they may navigate and trade in all freedom and security with their ships and merchandize, in the countries, ports, and places of the enemies of either one or the other party, without obstacle or difficulties, and not only pass directly from the ports and places of the enemy, before mentioned, to neutral ports and places, but also from every place belonging to an enemy, whether it be or be not submitted to the same jurisdiction, provided those places or ports be not blocked up, besieged, or invested. And in case, as it often happens, that a vessel should sail for a place or port belonging to an enemy not knowing that they are blockaded, besieged, or invested, it is agreed that every ship in such circumstances shall be sent away from such place or port without any part of its cargo being detained or confiscated (unless it be proved to be contraband, or that the ship endeavoured to enter the port after having been informed that it was blockaded or invested); but it shall be permitted to proceed to any other port or place which it may think proper. No ship of either

nation, having entered a port or place before they shall be really blockaded, besieged, or invested by the other, shall be prevented from proceeding with its cargo. If it should be found there after the reduction of the place, the ship and cargo shall not be confiscated, but restored to the proprietors.

XIII. " In order to regulate what shall be understood as contraband in time of war, there shall be comprised, under that denomination, powder, saltpetre, petards, matches, balls, bullets, bombs, grenades, carcasses, pikes, halberds, swords, waist-belts, scabbards, horse-saddles, harness, cannons, mortars, and their carriages, and, generally, all arms, warlike ammunition, and utensils for the use of troops. All the above mentioned articles, whenever destined for the port of an enemy, are declared contraband, and shall be liable to confiscation. But the ship loaded with them, as well as the rest of the cargo, shall be considered as free, and by no means violated by the contraband lading, whether it shall belong to one or more proprietors.

XIV. " It is stipulated by the present Treaty, that the free ships shall equally secure the freedom of the commodities, and that every thing found on board ships belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties, even when the cargo or a part of it belongs to the enemies of either, shall be deemed free; contraband goods, however, being always excepted. It is also agreed that the same liberty shall extend to all persons on board a free ship, even should they be enemies of one of the contracting parties, and they shall not be taken away from said ships unless they be military men, and actually in the service of the enemy.

XV. " But, on the other hand, it is agreed that every thing which shall be put by the respective citizens on board of ships belonging to the enemies of the other party, or their subjects, shall be confiscated, without distinction of prohibited or non-prohibited merchandize, in the same manner as if they belonged to the enemy, always excepting the goods and merchandizes shipped on board said ships before the declaration of war, or even after the declaration, if it was not known at the time of landing: so that the commodities of the citizens of either party, whether they be of the contraband kind as aforesaid, or otherwise, put on board of an enemy's ship before the war, or after the declaration, if they be ignorant of it, shall by no means be subject to confiscation, but honestly and faithfully restored to the proprietors without delay, as soon as they shall be claimed. Understanding, nevertheless, that no contraband articles shall be permitted to be carried into an enemy's port. The two Contracting Parties agree, that on the expiration of two months after the declaration of war, their respective citizens shall not be allowed, in any part of the

world, to plead that ignorance which is treated of in the present Article.

XVI. "The merchant ships belonging to the citizens of either of the contracting parties, when they wish to pass into the ports of an enemy of either of the two parties, and that their voyage as well as the contents of their cargoes are such as to excite just suspicions, shall be obliged to produce in open sea, or in the ports and roads, not only their passports, but also their certificates, to prove that the effects are not of that contraband kind specified by the 12th Article of the present Treaty.

XVII. "And, in order to avoid captures on frivolous suspicions; and to prevent the damages resulting from them, it is agreed, that when one of the Parties shall be at war and the other neuter, the ships of the Neutral Party shall be provided with passports similar to those specified in the 4th Article; by which it may appear that the articles really belong to the Neutral Party. Those passports shall be valid for any number of voyages, but they shall be renewed every year, if in the space of that year the ship should return home.

"Should these ships be laden, they shall be provided not only with passports, as before mentioned, but also with certificates, as described in the same article, so that it may be known whether they have any contraband commodities on board; no other document shall be required, notwithstanding any regulations or usages to the contrary: and if it should appear by these certificates that the said ships have no contraband goods on board they shall be suffered to proceed upon their destination: if, on the contrary, it should appear by these certificates that the said ships have contraband goods on board and that the commandant offers to give them up, the offer shall be accepted and the ship left at liberty to pursue its voyage, provided that the quantity of contraband merchandise be not too great to be conveniently taken on board the ship of war or privateer; in that case the vessel may be brought into port in order there to deliver up the said merchandise.

"Should a vessel be found not to have the passport and certificates above required, the affair shall be tried by the judges or competent tribunals; and should it appear by other documents or proofs, admissible by the custom of nations, that the ship belongs to the citizens of the neutral party, it shall not be condemned, but set at liberty, with its lading (the contraband part excepted) and shall be free to pursue its course.

"Should the captain of the ship named in the passport chance to die, or be removed by any other cause, and another appointed in his place, the ship and cargo shall be equally secure and the passport remain in full force.

XVIII. " If the ships of the citizens of either party should be met along the coasts or in the open sea by any ship of war or privateer of the other; to prevent all disorder, the said ships or privateers shall keep beyond cannon-shot and shall send their boat to the merchant vessel they shall have met with; no more than two or three men shall enter it, and demand from the head or captain of the said vessel an inspection of the passport concerning the property of it, made in the form prescribed by the 4th article, as well as the certificates above mentioned relating to its cargo. It is expressly agreed that the neutral shall not be obliged to go on board the visiting vessel to make the required exhibition of its papers or to afford any other information whatever.

XIX. " It is expressly agreed by the parties, that the above stipulations relative to the conduct to be observed on the seas by the cruisers of the belligerent party towards the ships of the neutral, shall only apply to ships sailing without convoy; and in case the said vessels should be under convoy, the intention of the parties being to pay all the respect due to the protection of the flag displayed by public vessels, they shall not be visited. But the verbal declaration of the Commandant of the escort, that the ships of his convoy belong to the nation whose flag he bears, and that they have nothing contraband on board, shall be regarded by the respective cruisers as fully sufficient; the two parties reciprocally engaging not to admit under the protection of their convoy any vessels carrying prohibited merchandise to the enemy.

XX. " In the case of vessels being taken or detained under pretext of carrying the enemy any contraband article, the captor shall give a receipt for the papers of the ship he detains, which receipt shall be annexed to a formal list of the said papers. It shall not be allowed to force or open the hatches, coffers, desks, trunks, bales, or vessels found on board such ship, nor to take away the smallest article before the cargo shall be landed, in presence of the officers, who shall make an inventory of the said effects. They must not on any account be sold, exchanged, or alienated, otherwise than when, after a legal process, the competent judge or judges shall have pronounced sentence of confiscation against the effects (the ship and other articles contained in it being always excepted.)

XXI. " In order that the ship and cargo should be carefully guarded, and to prevent any waste, it is decreed that the patron, captain, or supercargo of the captured ship shall not be removed from on board, either while the ship shall be at sea, after having been taken, or during the proceedings which shall be going on against itself, its cargo, or anything relating to it.

" In case a ship belonging to either of the parties should be taken, seized, and kept to be tried, its officers, passengers, and men, shall

be treated with humanity. They shall neither be imprisoned nor stript of their clothes, nor of money for their use, which is not to exceed, for the captain, supercargo, and second in command, 500 dollars each, and for the seamen and passengers, 100 dollars each.

XXII. " It is agreed, that in all cases, the tribunals established for prize causes in the countries into which the prizes shall be taken, can alone take cognizance of them; and that whatever judgment the tribunal of either party or commanders of ships of war, or privateers of either party, pronounces, any ship, merchandize, or property claimed by the citizens on either side, the sentence or decree, shall state the reasons or motives which determined that judgment, an authentic copy of which, together with, the proceedings thereunto belonging, shall, at their request, be delivered, without delay, to the captain, or agent of the ship, on payment of the costs.

XXIII. " And in order more effectually to provide for the respective surety of the citizens of the two contracting parties, and to prevent the injuries which may be apprehended from the ships of war or privateers of either party, and all citizens of one party shall abstain from all wrong towards the citizens of the other, and all insult to their persons. Should they do otherwise, they are liable to be punished, and give, in their persons and property satisfaction and reparation, with interest, for all damages of whatever kind they may be.

" To this end all captains of privateers before receiving their commissions, shall be obliged, before a competent judge, to give security, at least by two respectable sureties, who have no interest in the privateer, and each of whom, together with the captain, shall be particularly and firmly bound in the sum of 7,000 dollars, or 36,820 francs; and if the said ships carries more than 150 sailors or soldiers, in the sum of 14,000 dollars, or 73,640 francs, which shall serve to make good the injuries and damage which the said privateer's crews, or any of them may do during their cruise, contrary to the dispositions of the present Convention, or to the laws and instructions which should be the rule of their conduct; otherwise the said commissions shall be revoked, and annulled in all cases where an aggression shall have taken place.

XXIV. " When the ships of war of the two Contracting Parties, or those which their citizens shall have armed for war, shall be admitted to cast anchor with their prizes in the ports of either, the said public or private ships shall not be obliged to pay any duties to the officers of the place, the judges, or any other persons. The said prizes entering into the harbours or ports of either party, shall not be detained nor seized, and the officers of the place shall not take cognizance of the validity of such prizes, which shall be allowed freely

to proceed to the places specified in the commissions which the captains of the said vessels shall be obliged to produce. It is always provided that the stipulations of this article shall not extend beyond the most favoured nations.

XXV. " Foreign privateers bearing commissions of a State or Prince at war with another nation, shall not arm in the ports of either Power, nor sell their prizes in them, nor exchange them in any manner: they shall not be permitted to purchase more provisions than the necessary quantity to enable them to reach the nearest port of the State or Prince from whom they received their commissions.

XXVI. " It is moreover agreed, that neither of the two Contracting Parties shall receive pirates in their ports, roads, or cities, nor permit any of its inhabitants to receive, protect, assist, or conceal them in any manner; but that they shall give up to just punishment such of their inhabitants as may be guilty of such crimes. The ships of such pirates, as well as the effects and merchandize taken by them and brought into the ports of either nation shall be seized whenever they may be found, and restored to the proprietors, or the agents or factors duly authorised by them, after the right of property shall be proved before the competent judges.

" Should the said effects pass by sale into other hands, and that the proprietors did not, nor could know or had suspected that they were taken by pirates they shall be restored in the same manner.

XXVII. " Neither nation shall come to share in the fisheries of the other on its coasts, nor disturb it in the exercise of the rights it now has or may acquire on the coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, or on any of the other coasts of America to the Northward of the United States. But the whale fishery shall be free to both nations in all parts of the world.

" This Convention shall be ratified by both parties in due and regular form, and the ratification exchanged within the space of six months, or sooner if possible.

" On the faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles, as well in the French as in the English language, and have affixed their seal, declaring nevertheless that the signature in two languages shall not be cited as a precedent, nor construed to the prejudice of either of the parties.

" Done at Paris the 8th day of Vendemaire, 9th year of the French Republic, and the 30th day of September 1800.

(Signed)

" JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.

" C. P. FLEURIEU.

" ROEDERER.

" OLIVER ELLSWORTH,

" W. R. DAVIE.

" W. V. MURRAY.

" C. M. TALLEYRAND."

(A True Copy)

The second article of this Treaty is quite enough to shew, that all the rest are good for nothing, for all the disputes that these famous sticklers for justice had had with each other during several years, arose out of their various constructions of the treaties there alluded to. America gained nothing, and France conceded nothing, by this Convention; it was altogether a political manœuvre of the latter power to have the appearance of being generous at a small expence. In the 14th article she affected to recognise the principle, that "free ships make free goods;" but it was, as to all the practical uses of the principle, a matter of no kind of consequence whether the principle were admitted by France or not; for England, and England alone, could have been benefited by it, and England was so well able to carry and to protect all her own goods, that she had no occasion to ask the Americans to carry them for her, nor to ask the French to let them be so carried. In truth, both parties intended to have served themselves; but they carried their designs into effect with about as much sagacity as the Assembly of Mice, which resolved, that the Cat should never approach their holes, unless she first tied a bell about her neck; but did not foresee, that the whole value of their resolution depended upon—whether Pussy would submit to be commanded!

England, with the means of preserving her existence by the power of her irresistible navy, stands upon very different grounds from France and America; who not only draw up all those fine articles without any risk to themselves, but make her pay the expense of their adoption. England was unmoved by the nonsensical farrago, and the Americans gained nothing by their embassy, but a little refinement in the art of quibbling, which, should it lead them into the *argumentum ad bellum*. will teach them in the worst possible way, that strength and weakness are essentially incompatible with each other, and that it is inconsistent with the immutable laws of nature

for either to take the place of its opponent. France may subdue England, America may subdue England, and either of them may become and continue to be the most powerful of nations, until some other nation subdue it, in its turn; but it is not in the nature of things that weakness should patiently acquiesce in the disposition of power, nor that strength should yield to the menace of inferior force.

A convention between France and America is a combination between weakness and weakness, to form an aggregate of power sufficient to subdue Britain; and, if they did not see reason to be mutually jealous, they would co-operate more zealously and cordially than they have done; but, as it regards themselves individually, they have all the inclination in the world to effect that conquest each for himself, and that neither of them has accomplished that object already is not owing to a want of will, but a want of power. When poor simple John Bull, in his fits of complaisance, speculates upon purchasing greatness and safety by making concessions to neutrals—when he supposes that they are desirous of joining his enemy to beat him, because he *exercises* his power, and hopes to conciliate them by laying it down, he quite mistakes the matter: if they are desirous of beating him now, because he *uses* his power, they would be desirous of beating him then, because he *possessed* it, and there would be only one more effort of complaisance for him to exercise, that of yielding himself up, like Samson of old, and becoming a laughing-stock for his unseemly compliance.

The whole of this subject has been so closely argued by a late writer, in a Tract, that ought to be read by every person who wishes to be correctly informed relative to it;* that it would be impertinent to make it a topic of discussion here; it is sufficient for the purposes of this

* “The War as it is, and the War as it should be,” sold by Bone and Hone, Strand, London, price One Shilling and Sixpence.

Work to observe, that, since the commencement of the Consulate, no one means have been left untried that could, within the range of possibility, lead to the conquest of England; and not one of the states of the civilized world could, consistently with their own convenience, have done more to promote that conquest than they have, if England had even have extended the right of search to every ship upon the ocean and prescribed the precise port to which she should sail, or the precise cargo that she should carry. The power of England is her only protection, and, if she means to *keep it*, she must *use it*.

Right or wrong were matters of perfect indifference to the Consul and his court: it was an acquisition of the very first consequence that they were endeavouring to obtain, and, if extraordinary exertions were necessary, those exertions they resolved to make. The policy of France, under every form of government, whether Bourbons, Jacobins, or Buonapartés, has always been, to attempt by intrigue whatever it had failed to obtain by arms; and, in conformity with this system, the Consul embarked in a plan, as magnificent in design as it was difficult of execution, with a view to undermine the naval power of Britain.

The first step to be taken was to persuade the neutral powers that they had as strong an interest in resisting the British claim of a right to search neutral vessels as he had; but this had always been found extremely difficult; for the British courts of admiralty always made compensation to the neutrals for *their* losses, even when the cargoes they had carried were proved to have been enemy's property and were condemned as such. It was, therefore, resolved to raise an unusual bustle in all the neutral ports, by employing an unusual quantity of shipping for French account, in order that a considerable part of the trade of those ports might depend upon their being able to transport goods to and from France. French agents were either sent to, or the most celebrated merchants were

engaged as French agents, in all the ports of the Baltic and America, as well as in the Greek and Italian states in the Mediterranean, to make shipments for France. Among the goods thus purchased for and on the account of the French Government was a prodigious quantity of timber and naval stores, which were paid for by bills upon persons notoriously in its service, and which goods were, afterwards, neutralized and ensured from capture by neutral merchants residing in those neutral ports, in order that those states themselves might find it their interest to get such property safe into the harbours of France.

The silly people of those countries did not see that such a trade must necessarily be of the most ephemeral kind; and, that, even if they should happen to be the most successful of tools in the hand of France, she could not make use of them after her arsenals and granaries were filled. They were entrapped—the bait was suited to their capacities—they began to speculate with as much zeal as a young shopkeeper does, when, as soon as he has sold a few articles, he takes it for granted he shall presently make a fortune! A new attempt was made to inveigle Great Britain out of its common sense, or, rather, the old attempt, took a new form. The frantic hostility of the Emperor of Russia took the precise direction that the First Consul desired; it was the governments of the neutral states that undertook his cause by the Northern Confederacy, and it was not merely against the duplicity of a few mercenary citizens that Great Britain had now to contend, but against the nations united in one powerful combination. “We will acknowledge,” said the Confederates, “that the English may have been right in enforcing the search hitherto, because the vessels upon which the principle has operated have not been accompanied by any state ship that could answer for the regularity of their papers: we will no longer let our ships go to sea without convoy, and we will pledge ourselves to

resist the right of searching neutral ships when escorted by one or more ships of war." Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, were in league to convoy safely into the ports of France as much French property as it were possible to cover by the oaths of a number of unprincipled men, inhabiting each of their ports, whose only property and whose only revenues arose out of their perjuries, in swearing property to be their own which they never saw and never were interested in to the value of a single doit; and, when Buonaparté had succeeded so far, there could be nothing surprising in his treating the American ministers with a dinner before they left Paris: to give them a hint of what was expected of them, in a toast drank by the Third Consul, Lebrun: "To the union of America with the powers of the North; that respect may be procured for the liberty of the seas."

It is some credit to the English ministers, that, tame as all their measures *towards the enemy* were, they did not yield this point. A Danish frigate resisted the search and fired into a British ship of war in the Mediterranean, although a whole fleet of Swedes had been taken in the English Channel, under convoy of a man of war, which, by order of the Court of Stockholm, refused to let the ships be visited: but the judge of the English High Court of Admiralty firmly and judiciously maintained the right of search, upon the moderate ground, That if the principle which the neutral states themselves contended for were admitted, "that free ships make free goods," the search would be still necessary, to ascertain whether a ship were neutral or not. Here the English ministry took their stand; and the Consul immediately went to work, to see how he could turn their moderation to his advantage.

CHAPTER VIII.

Difficulties opposed to the Negotiations at Luneville.... Policy of Buonaparté for securing his Power.... Final Decree for the Recall of the Emigrants.... The Emperor again prepares for War.... Apprehensions for the Fate of England, and the Reasons.... Close of the Eighteenth Century.

IN attempting to proceed in the negotiations at Luneville a difficulty arose, which had not been correctly calculated upon by the Allies. It had been the practice of the Empire to make the indemnities to be granted to the different states and princes the basis of its treaties with foreign powers; and, accordingly, the city of Luneville soon began to swarm with little ministers and petty ambassadors, who came in expectation of assisting to swell out the discussions till some new convulsion in France should afford a chance of rekindling the war with a probability of success. Buonaparté, however, rose too early in a morning to be outwitted by a finesse of this second-hand sort: he had not forgotten, that, after he had settled the peace of Leoben, the difficulties that had occurred at Rastadt had recalled the Emperor into a war, as head of the German Confederacy, after taking near two years to recruit his forces; the Consul, therefore, determined that the Emperor should make a separate peace.

During the time that the diplomatic corps were disputing and explaining upon this subject, Buonaparté was consolidating his power by all the devices that wisdom or art could bring to bear upon that object. He gradually increased the splendor and magnificence of his levees and reviews; he avoided appearing, except upon rare and especial occasions; when he did appear, he chose an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the army, either by the affability of his manner, or some well chosen com-

pliment to the regiment that happened to be nearest to his person. Upon the pretence of business he never suffered himself to be approached but through the ministers, and by that means avoided all the familiarity of inferior people, which the republican ideas of his fellow-citizens led him to expect. When he admitted any person to his presence it was only such as were of consequence, either by their rank or property, and he never suffered any one that he spoke to, to quit him, until he had conferred some act of grace or some flattering mark of attention upon him. His family had been rigidly enjoined to be particularly select in their connexions, and Madame Buonaparté, about this time, presented, for his approbation, a general plan for settling the branches of both their families, in a way, that was most calculated to strengthen their interests without frustrating their ultimate designs.

Like every despot, and every usurper, whether he intends to act the part of a despot or otherwise, Buonaparté kept up a constant cry of the dangers to which his person was exposed, from attempts of conspirators to take away his life—an artifice by which he not only strengthened his police, without being suspected of any design to obtain a further elevation for himself, but confirmed the Royalists (who did not fail to interpret, in their own favour, the rigour he exercised towards the Jacobins) in the opinion that he was grasping a superfluous degree of power, in order that he might be able to restore the Bourbons without resistance. This the Consul knew to be the opinion of the Royalists, and he determined to preserve the delusion till he had availed himself of as much of the spirit of revenge and enthusiasm as that body would aid him with, for the suppression of Republicanism; and it was alone upon this principle, that he chose to grant permission to a much more numerous and varied description of Emigrants to return to France, after having escaped from a pretended conspiracy, than the whole number

that had been recalled upon all former occasions. In drawing up the document upon which this proceeding was founded, great art was displayed to prevent those traits appearing, without being sufficiently obscured to blind the Republicans; and, at the same time, whilst the Consul was "playing off" the two parties against each other, care was taken that the decree upon which the amnesty rested, should be indefinite enough to place every individual at the arbitrary disposal of the Government.

In consequence of an order to that effect, the Minister of Police reported to the Consuls as follows:

" CITIZEN CONSULS,

" THE general List of Emigrants, as it is printed, contain the names of 150,000 individuals, or classes of individuals, and the repetition of a multitude of names.

" It has been formed of partial lists, made up by the constituted local authorities, which the National Convention had entrusted with this work.

" There remains a supplement which has not been published, and which should be so, to form a complete list of the persons accused of emigration.

" The Legislative Assembly, the National Convention, and since then the Legislature, have erased a number of persons from that list. The Executive Directory erased 13,000, and you have erased about 1200.

" These individuals, therefore, ought to enjoy the rights which have been restored to them. It is upon the stability of the decisions of the Government, that the public confidence, the faith of private transactions, the security of property, depend.

" Many heads (inscriptions) are collective, and affect individuals under the general denominations of heirs, representatives, and children.

" The collective heads of heirs and representatives, may, in their generality, embrace a number of families, unknown even to those whose inheritance they are called upon to take up; as the law has established representation to infinity. By consequence, being unknown to the local authorities till the individuals composing such families as have retained their general denomination and recovered their rights; it is impossible, then, from such a head to convict any citizen of emigration.

" The inscription of children *en masse* is not more regular. The crime of emigration ought then to be confined to those personally pointed out, as the punishment will be individually applied.

" Other heads contain the classes of cultivators, artisans, hired servants, and their children. Their qualities are known, as they have been given by authorities appointed in their place, whither persons they alluded to had their real place of abode. From this class of persons there are almost no reclaimants. Almost all are unacquainted with the inscription under which they are comprehended, the law to which they are subject, and the punishment to which they are doomed.

" The greatest number of these, destitute of property, could not have been warned of their danger by the sequestration imposed on the estates of Emigrants.

" Such men cannot really be Emigrants. All the benefits of the Revolution were to their favour: by it they were liberated from the chains and from the disgrace of feudality, and by it they became the masters of those who had been their oppressors or their masters.

" If men of this description have quitted their country, it was not with the intention of abandoning it, nor with the absurd intention of arming themselves against their own interests. They may, for a moment, have been led away by seduction; but neither in civil contest nor in foreign war can be confounded with the really guilty, those men who must only have been the blind instruments, always absolved by their ignorance from criminality, and by the interest of society, which demands their labours.

" Other heads are directed against women in the power of their husbands; children under the authority of their parents, or who were out of France to complete their education.

" A woman obeys the direction of her husband. She quits her country along with him, without considering the steps she takes, or knowing the laws by which she is threatened.

" Ecclesiastics, whom revolutionary laws compelled to go into banishment, have still been inscribed upon the List of Emigrants.

" Unhappy victims of revolutionary tribunals have been inscribed, although they never have emigrated. The Government owes it to the families to restore to their memory the quality of citizen and to their heirs the rights which it supposes.

" The Frenchmen present at Malta, at the time of the capitulation, are absolved by that capitulation, the execution of which public faith demands.

" A great number of individuals have been provisionally erased by central administrations, at a time when they were armed with all the rigour of the laws respecting emigration.

" Many, in a word, have been represented as innocent by the commission appointed by you by the decree of 8th Ventose, year eight.

" From the different classes of individuals inscribed on the general List will remain the men who had the prejudices of birth and title to defend; others, who are known to have carried arms against their country, or served foreign powers; others, in short, who have not reclaimed within the period fixed by your decrees.

" Such, Citizen Consuls, are the classes of persons who form the general List of Emigrants.

" To reduce this List to the real Emigrants, I shall subjoin the project of a decree, of which the principles and the means have been suggested to me by the labour of the Committee of the Council of State appointed to discuss this subject.

(Signed)

" FOUCHÉ."

In the sitting of the 20th (12th of October) the Consuls of the Republic, upon the report of the Minister of Police, decreed as follows:

TITLE I. " Of the Inscriptions which ought to be struck out of the List of Emigrants.

Article 1. " The persons hereafter described shall be struck out of the List of Emigrants.—First, Those who have been definitively erased by the Executive Council, the Committee of Legislature of the National Convention, and the Legislative Body, and the Executive Directory.—Secondly, The individuals provisionally erased by the local administrations from the month of April, 1792, to the 21st of March, 1795; from the 23rd of October, 1796, to the 20th of May, 1797; and from the 22nd of September, 1798, to the 4th of December, 1799.—Thirdly, Persons of the following descriptions: Labourers, workmen, artisans, and all others exercising a mechanical profession; servants; the wives and children of all the persons above mentioned.—Fourthly, The individuals collectively inscribed without any individual denomination; such are comprised under the general head of heirs or children of a person mentioned: nevertheless, this Decree does not go to erase off those individuals who may have been inscribed distinctly from the collective inscription.—Fifthly, All wives, except those first, whose husbands are in the situation described in the third article paragraphs 1, 2, and 3; and, secondly, those who have emigrated and abandoned their husbands.—Sixthly, The individuals who were under the age of sixteen on the 25th of December, 1799.—Seventhly, The knights of Malta who were in that island when it capitulated.—Eighthly, The individuals who left France before the

14th of July, 1789.—Ninthly, The names of the individuals put to death by judgments of revolutionary tribunals.—Tenthly, The ecclesiastics who were sentenced to deportation, and who left France in obedience to the law.—Eleventhly, The individuals erased by the Report of the committee of the 26th of February, and not put on the list again on the revision of that Report.

Article 2. "The erasures which shall be made by virtue of the preceding article are declared null and void if they arise from any false application of the article. The agents of Government are to prosecute the question on this head before the civil tribunals; and the individual, if it shall be so determined, shall be replaced on the list, provided that the acts done by him in the intermediate time, whether with the Republic or with individuals, shall not be affected by such judgment.

TITLE II. "Of those to be kept on the list.

Article 3. "The following description shall be.—First, Those who have borne arms against France.—Secondly, Those, who, after the departure of the *ci-devant* French Princes, have continued to form part of their civil or military establishment.—Thirdly, Those who have accepted from the *ci-devant* French Princes, or from the powers at war with France, the place of ministers, ambassadors, negotiators, and agents.—Fourthly, Those who have been kept on the list by Government after the report of the committee established in consequence of the order of the 26th February, 1800.—Fifthly, Those who have not made their claims before the 25th December, 1799, as indicated in the law of the 2nd March, 1800, founded on the Report of the 26th February, unless they shall come within the cases pointed out in the preceding title.

Article 4. "The nullity pronounced by the second article is applicable to the erasures which shall be made in contravention of the preceding article.

TITLE III. Relates to the mode in which regulations of the two preceding titles shall be carried into execution.

TITLE IV. "Directs the precautions to be adopted with respect to those who return.—They are to take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. The individual who shall be struck out of the list in consequence of the present order shall be placed under the control of Government during the continuance of the year, and one year after a general peace. The women whose names are struck out, though their husbands are kept on the List, if they disturb the public tranquillity, be driven out of the French territory."

Among other precautionary steps that were taken, in case the negotiations at Luneville should not proceed

agreeably, the generals repaired to Paris, to concert with the Minister of War upon the measures proper to be taken for commencing a winter campaign. On this occasion, the address of Buonaparté displayed itself with particular ease and elegance, in the opportunity he took to pay a compliment to General Moreau, who waited upon him immediately after his arrival. The Minister of the Interior attended with a superb case of pistols, exquisitely finished and enriched with diamonds, which the Directory had ordered to be made, with a design of presenting them to a foreign prince. The beauty of the pistols was greatly admired, "They appear very *apropos*," observed the First Consul, as he presented them to Moreau; and then, turning to the Minister, without alluding to their original object, he said, "but, Citizen Minister, here is a grand omission: Cause *some* of the victories gained by General Moreau to be engraven upon them.—Do not order them *all* to be engraved, for it would be necessary to take off too many of the diamonds; and, although they are of no particular value in General Moreau's estimation we must not spoil too much the design of the artist."

If the Consul was endeavouring to put his army upon the best footing, by rewarding his generals and flattering his troops, the Emperor was not less active in preparing for the alternative of war. The Archduke Charles was recalled to defend the hereditary States; and, that he might the more impressively appeal to the zeal and patriotism of the people, he addressed a Proclamation to them from the palace of Prague. This proclamation stated, that earnestly as his Majesty the Emperor and King endeavoured to procure an honourable and lasting peace for the whole of his hereditary dominions, and much as it was to be wished, in honour of suffering humanity, after a long period of devastation, the enemy would join for the same purpose; it nevertheless continued adviseable and necessary to be prepared for the worst, if, contrary to the hopes and wishes of the Emperor, the

obstinate refusal and extravagant demands of the enemy should oblige him to make the greatest possible preparations for the general defence.

The decisive moment (it was said) had arrived, and prudence demanded that sufficient and speedy means should be resorted to. Extraordinary armaments were set on foot in Hungary, Transylvania, Moravia, Austria, Bohemia, and Silesia, which were to be under the immediate command of his Imperial Highness, and the dangers of the country were most pathetically displayed before the nations, which were called upon to avert them. "No choice," said the Archduke, "is left to us between destruction and preservation, between ignomy and honour;" and, he continued, "I am fully persuaded, that, by a noble emulation of the behaviour of our loyal and brave ancestors, on similar occasions, the security and happiness of the country will be maintained, as it has hitherto been gloriously preserved."

Preparations for war could not, indeed, fail to occupy the principal attention of both parties during the existing as well as the former armistice, for France was inflexibly determined not to treat with Austria in conjunction with any other power, and the Emperor as positively declared his resolution not to treat without Great Britain.

A few timid spirits, and a few sanguine spirits, both in England and elsewhere, according as their apprehensions and their wishes guided them, now thought this latter power about to be overwhelmed in destruction; for the powers of the North seemed determined to proceed as vindictively as the Consul, and were preparing their forces to second his views.

It was by no means favourable to conciliation, that the Emperor Paul laid claim to the title of Grand Master of Malta, whilst the English favoured the pretensions of Baron Hompesch, one of the knights, whose known gallantry and fidelity to the order, gave him every advan-

tage over a sovereign, whose best plea was, that he had chosen to elect himself.

The Russians, of all classes, were strongly attached to the interests of England, owing to the intimacy between the commercial concerns of the two countries; and a smothered indignation spread itself from breast to breast, throughout all the commercial classes of Russia, against the tyranny of the Emperor, who, out of mere vagary, was about to plunge the dagger of the nation into the bosom of its best and most intimate friend.

The feeling was not long hid from the English government, and being thrown into the scale against the Emperor's wrath, it tossed it out of view, as lighter than vanity. The English ambassador had withdrawn from St. Petersburg, and Lord Carysfort, the envoy at Berlin, received such instructions, as proved that England had no wish to shun the consequences of Northern hostility. His Lordship informed the Prussian ministry, that, as his Majesty had no accredited minister in Russia, however much he might regret that any measures had been adopted of such an offensive kind against his just rights, and in violation of the law of nations, as would oblige him to repel them by force; yet, that he took that medium of informing the Russian ambassador, that if the principles of the Northern Confederacy were acted upon, he should immediately commence hostilities against the governments which composed it.

Consistently with Lord Carysfort's declaration, the English fitted out a powerful fleet, and called home their most celebrated admiral, Lord Nelson, from a distant station, to take the command of it. A body of troops were to accompany the expedition, in order to take possession of the Sound, to block up the Baltic, and to provide our Quixotic heroes with some *real* troubles to complain of.

The 18th century was now about to close, without

having taught the inhabitants of Europe how to provide greater happiness for their posterity than they had received from their ancestors; like its beginning so was its end about to be enveloped in all the hideous shades of sanguinary warfare.

At the close of the year 1700, Louis King of France and William King of England, having taken different views of religion, each contrived to involve his subjects and partisans in revengeful and inveterate contests in defence of his opinion: though ambition was really and truly the motive by which both were actuated, each persuaded his people that it was indispensibly necessary for for one half the world, at least, to rally under his banner, if they were anxious to preserve either their lands, their commerce, or their religion; and the silly people were persuaded to indulge all those rancorous passions, which are equally transgressions of all religion, to embark in hostilities, which in their very nature precluded the benefits of commerce from being enjoyed, and to protract their wars to a length of time which devoured the whole produce of their labour, and rendered their lands merely nominal blessings—or possessions without substance!

So had the 18th century been passed, and during no period of it had there been a more rancorous spirit brooding over the affairs of Europe, than that, which now, issuing from the cavern of Envy, with a scowling eye, cast upon the British Navy, flew from hemisphere to hemisphere, with the old scroll of discord, re-edited and new titled, from "Balance of Power" to "Neutral Rights," and threatened to make the coming age as bloody as the former. This is a history, and not a prophecy; it is, therefore, not our duty to mark any incident with a stronger character than we might be borne out in, by the reader's own observation; but having paid much attention to the whole of this subject, and endeavoured to investigate its nature and consequences with no common

concern, we hope to be indulged with the full weight of these observations; and if in any case we have descended to a minutia apparently unimportant, it has been because we have thought many incidents to be so connected and interwoven with the ulterior designs of Napoleon, as to lead to consequences not now generally foreseen.

What we have written relates to an age that is past: the events recorded may have been read as matters of mere amusement. If this is a species of levity—if it is even a fault, it is a fault that may be corrected, but must not be repeated. Here a line must be drawn—here a distinction must be made, which it is of the highest importance that we should attend to. The occurrences that are past, related principally to other times and other places: those which remain yet untold belong to our own times—connect themselves most intimately to our own affairs, and will, it is highly possible, long disturb the harmony of our own fire-sides. Events so different in their nature, and in which we have so different an interest, ought not to be confounded together: and, in closing the present chapter, we should not do justice to our subject, were we not to observe; that, however the *Life of Buonaparté* may have been read hitherto as an object of speculation, the Reader will do well, for the future, to consider how far his own destiny is under its influence.

THE END OF CHAP. VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

General Reflections....The Narrative resumed....The Armistice broken....Battle of Hohenlinden....The French advance....General Macdonald crosses the Rhatian Alps....The Austrians beaten and retreat....Moreau divides his Army and advances to within Fifty Miles of Vienna....Consternation and Dismay of the Inhabitants....Their Disaffection....The Archduke Charles concludes an Armistice with Moreau at Steyer....Consequences of it.

WE have already traced the character of Buonaparté from obscurity to splendor; we have seen him in various trying situations, surmounting some of them by his genius, some by his Machiavælian policy, some by his cruelty. As a warrior he has, hitherto, appeared most conspicuous; in the field of battle he has shone forth with a lustre over which envy itself cannot cast a shade:—the bridge of Lodi, the passage of St. Bernard, and the field of Marengo, are exploits that demand the meed of applause, which we so willingly confer upon the heroes of antiquity.

Guided by a strict impartiality, it has been our first wish, and our most unceasing endeavour, in the course of this work, to represent the man as he is; neither his determined panegyrist, nor his bitter calumniator; we have endeavoured to separate detraction from truth, to lay our prejudices asleep, and to stand forth as the unbiassed Historian of his Deeds. In so far as he is human, he must have the frailties of humanity; placed in situations whose duties few can appreciate, whose necessities still fewer can palliate, he has sometimes acted, no doubt, from an impulse that has been imperiously dictated to him, rather than deliberately acceded to: exalted to a sphere that fixed the eyes of Europe upon him, he has, like every

great man, stood forth the conspicuous object both of applause and censure; and both, indeed, have been liberally awarded to him. It has, therefore, been no easy task to preserve the sincerity we were ambitious of; but, if the difficulties have been great hitherto, they threaten to be greater hereafter: his ambition has taken a wider range; his conquests have been increased, his policy has become more obvious; and he has, by his inordinate and immeasurable lust of dominion, created, with justice, a more formidable host of enemies. Yet we will not shrink: advancing to the task with a temperate mind, it will be in our power to preserve the same impartiality, and we may, therefore, still hope to preserve the same degree of popular favour.

Before, however, we proceed to narrate the events of 1801, it will be necessary to resume the thread of our Narrative at those several periods where we left off, so that there may be no deficiency in our historical detail.

The armistice which had been concluded between the Emperor and Moreau expired, during the continuance of some negotiations between this country and France; and the cabinet of Vienna, totally unprepared for a renewal of the contest, was under a necessity of soliciting a new truce. Some discussions took place between General Moreau on the one side and the Count de Lehrbach on the other, and a further suspension of arms was obtained in Germany and Italy, for forty-five days, on the 20th of September. The terms of this truce were such, as manifestly shewed the different situation of the contracting parties: the cities of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were the price demanded from the Emperor for this momentary respite.

The policy which France had constantly pursued produced a new rupture with the Austrians: unable to force them to a separate treaty, she resolved to renew the contest; proud and confident in her successes, she felt no doubts as to her future career; and the Emperor, whose

fidelity to his allies merited a better reward, repaired to the head-quarters of his army with the Archduke Charles. A recommencement of hostilities being decided upon, Augereau, at the head of the Batavian army, crossed to the right bank of the Rhine; while Macdonald, now stationed in the country of the Grisons, prepared to pass the Rhetian Alps and convey new succours into Italy.

Moreau during this truce had returned to his native country and married: but the stern alarms of war called him from the soft pleasures of love; and, after sixteen days, he was obliged to quit his bride and repair to his head-quarters. He published an Address to his soldiers, in which he requested them to exhibit the same gallantry and the same disregard to the rigors of the season, which they had before displayed when employed in the defence of Fort Kehl and the conquest of Holland.

Moreau was now at the head of the most numerous army that France had ever sent into Germany, and, proceeding in quest of the enemy, their advanced guards encountered each other at Haag, where the Austrians obtained a superiority.

The Archduke John was now at the head of the Imperial forces: flushed with some partial successes, he collected all his forces, marched in search of the French, and attacked them with an unusual degree of vigor. The battle commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, between the rivers Ider and Iun, on the heights which extend from Bierkrain to Neumarok; and near the very spot (Hohenlinden) where the armistice had, a short time before, been concluded.

This was an important battle, and one that seemed worthy to decide the fate of an empire: there were many circumstances which tended to render it fatal to the Austrians; amongst others, a severe fall of snow, which precluded that regularity and conformity in the operations which must always accompany a combined movement, or without which the utmost stretch of human genius can

effect nothing. Still, however, the gallant ardour of the troops was not diminished by this derangement of the original plan; and such was the determined bravery displayed on both sides, that victory, for a time, hung in suspense.

Moreau, however, anticipated the intentions of the Archduke, and having ordered General Richepanse to assail the centre column in flank at the moment it commenced an attack, this unexpected evolution produced inconceivable confusion, and the left one being penetrated nearly at the same time, added to other difficulties, they were forced to retire at three o'clock in the afternoon; and Moreau hung with such determined impetuosity upon their rear, that night alone saved them from total destruction. In this battle were taken the greatest part of the baggage, more than 18,000 prisoners, and near 100 pieces of cannon. The enemy fled in disorder beyond the Inn, and in their flight they carried dismay and consternation.

In order to improve the advantages gained by this splendid victory at Hohenlinden, on the 3rd of December 1800, Moreau, still advancing towards the Austrian capital, proceeded rapidly to Saltzburgh: the advantages of occupying this post were numerous, and they were all foreseen by this able general: in his route, however, it was necessary to pass two rivers, the Inn and the Salza: the former rises in the country of the Grisons, passes through Tyrol and Bavaria, and falls into the Danube near Passau; its bed is deep and it has a rapid current. It was considered by Marshall Turenne as one of the strongest military barriers in Europe: its right bank, from the Alps to its junction with the Danube is fortified by a chain of rocks. The Salza is neither so large nor so rapid as the Inn, yet it is a river of considerable magnitude: Saltzburgh is situated on its right bank, about one hundred and forty miles West-south-west from Vienna.

Moreau having to pass these rivers the retreating Austrians were enabled to retard his march, and, in some degree, to weaken his force: still, however, the French finally prevailed over obstacles that, to a less persevering army, or to one less accustomed to conquer, would have been considered as insurmountable. The Inn was crossed, December 9, at Nieupeurien, between Rosenheim and Kuffstein, at Wasserburg and at Muhldorff; the Salza between Saltzburgh and Lauffen.

The greatest part of the Austrian army was concentrated on the ground between Lauffen and Saltzburgh. This was on the 12th December. A division, under General Lecourbe, was ordered to advance on the right bank of the Saal, and another, under General Decaen, by Lauffen; while a corps of reserve, under Generals Richepanse and Grouchy, was ready to support either Lecourbe or Decaen, according as circumstances might render it necessary. General Lecourbe passed the Saal on the 13th December, without much difficulty, and made himself master of the village of Waal. General Decaen having arrived near Lauffen found the bridge broken down, and the enemy defending the heights which command it. At this critical juncture an act of bravery was performed: three chasseurs threw themselves into the Salza, in spite of the intense cold, and swam over for some boats, on the opposite side; meanwhile others advanced and kept up a discharge of musketry along the ruins of the bridge. About eighty men passed the river in the boats that had been seized; and before this handful of soldiers a party of Austrians retreated and left 200 prisoners! Such a paltry resistance served only to add fresh vigor to an enemy already full of an overweening confidence, and at the same time contributed to spread a general sense of inferiority and a strong feeling of timidity through the Austrian army.

The commander-in-chief ordered Grenier to advance with his two divisions to Lauffen, and the same orders

were given to **Generals Grouchy and Richepanse** : a new bridge was thrown across the river, and 500 men, under the command of **General Lecourbe**, passed over it : they were continuing their route, when, on the morning of the 14th, the Austrians presented themselves in a large body. **General Lecourbe** knew his inferiority, and, consequently, fell back, contenting himself with defending the road and maintaining possession of the village of **Waal**. A severe action took place ; but still **Lecourbe** preserved his position until timely assisted by the whole division of **Decaen**, who had passed the river, and in advancing kept up a terrible fire of artillery on all that opposed him ; this movement favoured also the passage of a division under **Richepanse**, which now began to form on the right bank.

In the night of the 14th the Austrians retreated precipitately and the French entered **Salzburg** at eight o'clock in the morning : **General Richepanse**, with the left division of the French army, pursued the Imperialists along the road to **Lintz** and entered **Newmack**, the last post in **Bavaria**, on the frontiers of the Hereditary States of the Emperor. The **Archduke John**, whose headquarters were removed to **Braunau**, on the **Lower Inn**, was by this manœuvre cut off from all communication with the Austrian commander, **General Mollitor**, in the **Tyrol**, who had a force of about 25,000 men, but who had no communication except with **General Bellegarde**.

A perilous enterprise was, in the meantime, effected by **General Macdonald**.—He had passed, in the first week of December, the **Rhetian Alps**, by the defiles of the **Splugen** and through **Chiavenna**, at the head of a column, in order to support the left wing of the Italian army, under the command of **General Brune**. The intrepid perseverance of the General could alone have brought to a successful completion this undertaking ; he led, in person, the pioneers to near the summit of the **Splugen**, which was filled up, and as it were obliterated, by the drifted snow. He set the example of working to open a path,

which was effected ; but the foremost party had not advanced far when the path was again covered, and his grenadiers, sinking in the snow, began to believe that it was impossible to proceed further : even the very poles, that had been set up for marks, were covered with the snow, which still continued to fall. But the General was himself the first to advance at the head of the pioneers and sound the road : those who were near him he animated by his voice and example ; and, at length, he conducted his troops through all the dangers of the Splügen, and, on the 11th of December, gained the valley of the Adda, in the Valtelline, by which means a communication was opened with General Brune : at the same time, likewise, he was master of both banks of the Upper Inn and of the Upper Engadine, and thus mutual communications were established. The *Engadine*, or, as it is called by the natives and the neighbouring states, *Engadina*, is a country of the Grisons ; it extends along the bank of the river Inn from its source to the Tyrolese, and is divided into the Upper and the Lower Engadine.

While all these combined operations were carrying on, the Gallo-Batavian army, under Augereau, whose right wing was to protect and co-operate with the left of Moreau's, gained some important advantages over the Austrians in Franconia. On the rupture of the armistice the Barón D'Albin, who commanded the troops of Mayence, stationed at Aschaffenburg, attacked the Batavian infantry. Augereau having received intelligence from Moreau that the Austrians had assembled, to the number of twelve or thirteen thousand, before Bamberg, resolved to give them battle with two divisions of his army, and to drive them beyond the Rednitz. They occupied, besides the village, the two first heights that command Burgh-Eberach. They were driven from the village and the first height, but they made a resolute stand on the second, but they were forced to relinquish this after an

obstinate resistance. General Dubesme took possession of Bamberg on the 3rd December. Augereau, informed of the success of the army of the Rhine, withdrawing his right wing from the Rednitz, took possession of Furem and Nuremburg, and there meant to wait for further advices from Moreau. It was the object of the Austrians to cut off, if possible, the communication between Augereau and Moreau and to turn the left of the latter's army. Nothing but slight skirmishes took place from the 3rd to the 17th : but a bloody battle was fought on the 18th between Nuremburg and Lauff; it lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till the close of the day. The engagement was equally fierce on both sides : the assailants were forced to fall back, but the loss was supposed to be nearly equal in either army : a hundred waggons were loaded with dead and wounded Austrians.

Such was the situation of affairs when the Austrian army of the Danube moved from Braunau, and, on the 16th of December, took an advantageous position behind the Traun. The command of the army was taken by the Archduke Charles, *with full powers* ; a thing which had long been denied to him. A battle took place, in which the Austrians lost in killed and wounded, from 300 to 500 ; 1,000 were taken prisoners, 600 of which were cavalry, with General Lopez, their commander. They sustained another defeat, on the heights of Lambach, by Richepanse, who drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great loss. The Imperial army now retreated to Lintz, within 92 miles of Vienna : the French continued to advance, and on the 20th December fixed their head quarters at Wells.

The French army had now penetrated into the heart of Germany, and threatened even the Capital : their rapid successes, and the indefatigable manner in which they followed those successes up, allowed no time to the retreating Austrians to recover themselves ; this perfection of military skill was well understood by Moreau, ad-

mirable not only in his plans but decisive in their execution; the celerity with which he pushed them one upon the other confounded his enemies; if he attacked and conquered, he followed the discomfited foe with such perseverance, that no time could be gained by them to reinstate themselves. In conformity with this system, he now formed his army into three columns, of which the right, under Lecourbe, advanced towards the mountains South of Steyer on the Ens; the centre, commanded by Moreau himself, set out for Steyer; and the left under Grenier, which had marched along the South banks of the Danube, and forced the Austrians to retreat from Lintz across the river, proceeded on the high road from Lintz towards Vienna. On the 24th Richepanse, with the advanced guard of the centre column, entered Steyer, in which he found 17 pieces of cannon, and made 4,000 prisoners. On the 25th, the French began to proceed onward to the next river, the Erlaph, and the Austrians to retire behind the Trasen, the last river of any note, within fifty miles of Vienna.

Thus critically situated, all was confusion, consternation, and dismay, within this extensive city; terror reigned in every countenance, except those, who, disaffected to the government, expected from the arrival of the French something, though they knew not what: yet it would be change, and change, to evil minds, though from bad to worse, is preferable to the torpid state of inactivity and monotony, when their spirits feel upon themselves. In every country are to be found those restless and unquiet spirits, that seem to find no consolation in existing things; to create disturbance, whence some change of condition may arise, is the only balm they can apply to minds harrassed with care and satiated with vice. In every country too there are cool, calculating knaves, who speculate upon ruin and anarchy with the apathy of demons; they instil their doctrines into the minds of the eager and wavering multitude, and thus create sects. These are the inseparable pests of all large cities, and of these Vienna

was not, of course, destitute. In proportion as the common enemy approached, their spirits rose; they had meetings, and anticipated scenes of glorious uproar and ruin; they took no pains to conceal their sentiments, and the loyal and the virtuous felt their dread increase when they saw traitors within the walls and enemies without. The city was in a state of utter confusion; trade was stopped; families kept within doors, and scarcely ventured into the streets; distrust and suspicion prevailed; the wealthy trembled for their money and their palaces; the honest artisan, the industrious tradesman, shuddered at the thought of seeing his little property pillaged by a band of lawless invaders, who would ravage and spoil wherever they entered; they looked upon their families and wept, as they thought that a few days might behold them a prey to ruffian violence and sanguinary cruelty. The consternation was increased by the departure of the Imperial family, who set out for Offen, escorted by a party of the life-guards. The gallery of paintings, with the Imperial treasury, other valuable articles, and the City treasury, were placed in waggon, and ready to be removed from the capital: such preparations could not fail to excite the most lively alarm; but the fears of the good were quieted, and the hopes of the factious were frustrated by the arrival of the Archduke Charles at Vienna, on the 27th December, at ten in the morning, who brought the consolatory intelligence of his having concluded an armistice at Steyer, of thirty days, with General Moreau.

This armistice was a measure perhaps equally necessary to both; as will appear from the following candid statement of the General of Division, Desolles, to the French Minister at War; it is dated,

" Head Quarters, Steyer Dec. 26, 1800.

" The Archduke Charles has proposed an armistice to the General-in-Chief, at the same time announcing to him, that the Emperor had sent a courier to M. Cobentzel, at Luneville, where a negotiation had been opened in the end of September, with orders to sign a peace.

" The General-in-Chief, considering that the line of the Rhine

and Ens was forced, that we had advanced a hundred leagues before the other armies, that the Austrian army in Italy was behind us; that, of course M. de Bellegarde had two grand means, from Saltsburgh and Inspruck, to send a detachment, which, joining itself to the troops left in Tyrol, might fall upon our rear, and cut off our communication with France, has thought it his duty to consent to a convention, which, procuring us great advantages, left us the means, at the same time, of waiting for the operations of the army of Italy, of which we have yet had no intelligence.

“ The character of the Archduke Charles, his well known probity and honour, are sufficient pledges to us of the desire the Emperor now feels to put an end to the war. To this he has, besides, been compelled by the deplorable state of his army, which, having lost in twenty days sixty-six leagues of country, 23,000 prisoners, from 12 to 15,000 in killed or wounded, 140 pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, is not, at present, and would not be for these three months, in a state to prevent our army from conquering all Austria, and dictating laws to its Capital; but, to do this without danger, it was necessary that the army should have been master of the head of the defiles of Carinthia.

“ The General-in-Chief, believed, besides, that to stop in the midst of the most brilliant victories was conformable to that character of moderation in which the Chief Consul wishes to make himself known to the whole of Europe. I have the honour to address to you a copy of the armistice. The Emperor has determined to treat of peace, whatever may be the determination of his Allies; and our line, as it approaches to the Danube and to the mountains of the Tyrol; and puts into our hands the stations of Ruffsteinshoer, Nitz, Braunau, and other stations, will afford us the means of renewing the war with the greatest advantages, but above all, with the greatest security.”

It is impossible not to observe in this Letter the usual policy, and the usual ostentation of the French general. While it is allowed that their situation was insecure, that their communication with France was liable to be cut off, they yet endeavour to maintain that the necessity for peace lay wholly with the Austrians. It cannot be doubted that the Austrians yielded at the very moment when they ought to have resisted most vigorously; they should either have sought the armistice a fortnight before, or else have combated with desperate resolution beneath the

walls of their own city. There is a time to yield, when submission may be dignified with the name of prudence; but, to relinquish, when the occasion for resistance is tenfold, is pusillanimous in the extreme. The French general seemed to doubt the sincerity of the Archduke's intentions, notwithstanding the compliment he chose to pay him: the conclusion of the Letter shews that they are ready, and advantageously disposed for war, though willing for peace.

By this armistice, the French army of the Rhine obtained a triangular portion of territory, whose base rested on Chiavenna and Wurtzburg, and whose point was between Leoben and Pachtarn on the Danube, within fifty-two English miles from Vienna. This armistice comprehended the Gallo-Batavian army, as well as that of the Rhine; its duration was to be for thirty days, and hostilities were not to be re-commenced after its expiration, until a previous notice of fifteen days had been given: the armistice might, therefore, be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of the rupture. No corps or detachments, either of the French army of the Rhine, or that of his Imperial Majesty in Germany, were to be sent to the respective armies in Italy, so long as there should be no armistice between the French and the Imperial armies in that country. In addition to this, Moreau promised to dispatch, with the utmost diligence, the present convention to the General-in-Chief of the Gallo-Batavian army, that of the Grisons, and that of Italy; urging them strongly at the same time, particularly the army of Italy, to conclude a suspension of hostilities.

Thus succeeded another calm to the storm of war; but the present incipient pacification produced a numerous brood: peace-making became the fashion of the year, as we shall see hereafter: all the ministers of Europe were busily employed in negotiating with the agents of the First Consul; and Great Britain, the haughtiest combatant, who had disdainfully rejected the informal advances of

Buonaparté on his first accession to power, found herself among the nations who rested the probability of their security upon the stability of his power and the moderation of his views. But history might have informed them that usurpation is built upon action ; to leave the subjected at rest is to give them opportunities for caballing ; and though a temporary suspension of active warfare may suit the policy of the moment, it is too often essentially hostile to the permanent views of an aspiring candidate for fame and royalty. The truth of these remarks will be abundantly verified by the events which we have yet to produce.

THE END OF CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

General Reflections.... Affairs of Italy resumed.... The French invade Tuscany and enter Leghorn.... Confiscate the English Property in Leghorn, though declared a neutral Town by the Armistice of Marengo.... Reflections.... Dispatches of General Dupont, and Reflections thereon.... Ostensible and real Motives of the Irruption of the French into Tuscany.... Hostilities recommenced.... Their successful Termination in Favour of the French.. Armistice of Treviso.... Answer of Buonaparté to the Court of Vienna, and his Views therein displayed.—TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED AT LUNEVILLE.... Reflections.... Brave Resistance of the Garrison of Porto Ferrajo till the Peace between England and France.

WE must now turn our attention to the affairs of Italy, that fair portion of the globe, so dear in name to every scholar, so rich in art to every admirer of ancient excellence. The modern Hannibal, as he has not unaptly been termed, had already ravaged a large part of this country, when he first appeared upon the theatre of the French Revolution; it was there that he won some of his fairest laurels; it was there that he first displayed those intrepid features of his mind, that ardent love of glory, that prompt execution of his designs, that happy facility by which he inspired his soldiers with an emulation and an ardour that nothing could resist: it was there too, probably, that the seeds of that gigantic ambition which has since shaken Europe to her centre, were first sown; he felt his power, and he saw himself idolized; he was hailed by his admiring countrymen as a successful general and an able negotiator; a party insensibly formed round him, for every great man is a centre, to which weaker bodies tend as by a natural gravitation; and when the councils of the French

nation were inert and distracted, paralysed by want of unanimity, and tottering to their foundation, Buonaparté stepped forth, not to uphold, but to destroy, and to erect himself upon their ruins; yet, however, he appears only as a tyro in the struggle: a wider field opens hereafter, and we shall see him acting a part that puts to shame the boldest deeds of former adventurers: but we will not anticipate futurity.

Our readers will recollect that an armistice was concluded between the French and Austrians after the celebrated battle of Marengo, (see vol. iv. page 278.) By this convention the French army was to occupy the country comprised between the Chiesà, the Oglio, and the Po; and the Austrians, besides certain territories that were specified on the left bank of the Po, were to occupy the city and citadel of Ferrara, on the right bank; they were also to occupy Tuscany and Ferrara. Contrary, however, to this stipulation, the Austrians continued to keep possession not only of the town and citadel, but also of a large territory called the Polesino of Ferrara: nor was the dispute likely to arise about this, all; at the same time, a general insurrection of the people in Tuscany took place; hostilities, were, therefore, on the point of being recommenced; when General Brune, informed of the signing of preliminaries by Count St. Julian, at Paris, and of the arrival of Count Cobentzel at Luneville, immediately communicated his intention to General Bellegarde, that until he received further orders from his government, he should suspend the motions of the military force under his command. This insurrection of the people of Tuscany, was, more properly speaking, a sort of *levy en masse*; and, in the preliminaries above mentioned, the Emperor had engaged for the disarming of this force.

A new convention was agreed to on the 20th September, at Castiglione, by which General Brune consented to wait for an answer from Vienna, relative to the evacua-

tion of the Ferrara by the Austrians; and in this treaty an utter silence was preserved with regard to the disarming the *levy en masse*. The French general, however, insisted upon it as a matter of course, for it was supposed that this *levy en masse* was paid by the English, more especially as it had been reinforced by a corps from Naples. The whole, however, was a mere pretext on the part of the French to have some plea for an irruption into Tuscany; a scheme which they considered as necessary, lest, in case of a renewal of war, the English should land in that quarter, a thing of which they were extremely apprehensive, and which was certainly intended. In pursuit of this object a general officer, with a small escort, was sent by General Dupont, in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, to General Sommariva, who commanded the troops in Tuscany, with a request that he would disarm the *levy en masse*, or, as it was called, the national guard; and also disperse the brigands, or parties of robbers. It was also further signified to Sommariva, that if the armed peasants were not disbanded, and quietly sent back to their homes, he would enter Tuscany with a military force, and punish them for the incessant outrages which they committed upon the territories occupied by the French army. Promises of compliance, it is said, were given by Sommariva, but they were never fulfilled; and Lieutenant-General Dupont, entered Florence on the 15th October, with a great army, which he had concentrated on the left bank of the Po, and General Clement on the 16th entered Leghorn.

The insurgents were easily dispersed; General Sommariva and the Austrians under his command, to the number of 2,500 were permitted to retire to Ancona. The merchandise of the English found in Tuscany, and more particularly that which was found in Leghorn, was confiscated. This was one of those arbitrary and flagrantly unjust actions which have so repeatedly marked the progress of the French: by the armistice of Marengo, Leg-

horn was permitted to retain its neutrality; yet now, in open defiance of every honourable principal, and in contempt of the established usages of civilized nations, they disregarded that immunity and seized upon the property of the English. We were, indeed, too alert for their rapacity, though this does not diminish their infamy a jot: by our maritime superiority we shipped the greater part of it away.

The army of Tuscan insurgents amounted to 25,000. Dupont, in one of his dispatches to the General-in-Chief, Le Brune, dated Head-quarters, Florence, October, 19, 1800, says: "The presence of the French in Tuscany had been thought necessary by several of the partisans of the Grand Duke themselves, who felt that the safety and honour of the French army required the measures which he (General Brune) had ordered."

No doubt the Grand Duke and the inhabitants of Tuscany felt equally gratified at this obliging attention of the French army to their wishes! and they had, ultimately, as much reason to rejoice as those other nations of the continent who had been more forward in courting the honours of French fraternization. There was a degree of impudence and quackery employed by the revolutionary generals and statesmen (if it be not a degradation to employ the latter term) which astonished and confounded Europe. At the very moment when they were oppressing the conquered, or conquering the free, they did not blush, to promulgate the most gross and obvious falsehoods respecting the friendship and extraordinary love with which they were received. They were careless of detection; they had no honour to lose, and could not, therefore, be influenced by those motives which have weight with other men. If a general could send a flattering address to his employers, setting forth the great delight and joy which the appearance of himself and his army occasioned; if a director or a consul could proclaim to the thoughtless Parisians, that the sanguinary progress of their troops,

contrary to the usual tenor of human experience, excited love, and admiration, and friendship; that those who had the most enormous contributions levied upon them were happy; that those who had their villages destroyed, and their hopes for ever blighted, were cheerful and thankful! If such narratives, no matter how improbable or how certain of ultimate detection, could be vamped up to answer the purpose of the moment, their authors seem to have been perfectly satisfied, and were content to barter honest fame and manly worth for the poor gratification of momentary *eclat*, resulting from the successful employment of infamous and degrading falsehoods. Thus we find Dupont celebrating the wishes of the conquered Duke and his partisans for the appearance of a French army in Tuscany! Is this probable? After nearly ten years of warfare enough had been seen of French principles to render their presence any thing but an object of desire. Where is the monarch, or where are *his* partisans, that could wish to see their common country overrun by a lawless horde of soldiers, whose first and only object was to pillage and destroy? Could, indeed, any monarch be so lost as to seek this, he deserves, in our opinion, only such allies as a revolutionary French army.

Dupont, however, had another motive for an irruption into Tuscany besides the great longing which the inhabitants had for him; a tender concern for the welfare of the people! "Besides," says he, "the extraordinary levies inspired a very lively fear for the tranquillity of the interior of Tuscany; for their pay was an enormous weight, which that state could not support." This kind attention to the comforts and the advantages of the Tuscans merits, no doubt, the highest praise. But, in fact, the step was altogether unjustifiable: yet they wished to derive every possible advantage from it, without, however, breaking the armistice! and General Dupont, therefore adds, "that he had observed the highest respect towards the Austrian troops; and that nothing had passed which

could in the slightest degree, affect the armistice : all the officers had acknowledged in that procedure, that the occupation was a particular measure, which ought not to diminish the harmony that prevailed between the two armies." In the insolent fallacy of this reasoning, the Court of Vienna seemed to acquiesce, for nothing of any importance occurred between the two armies till the expiration of the truce of Hohenlinden. The movements of Le Brune were entirely directed by those of Moreau.

It appears, at first, to have been the plan of the French to fall on the Austrians on the Lake of Garda, and then to turn the lines of the Mincio ; this, however, did not take place ; other arrangements, in consequence of the reports received respecting the Austrian army, were adopted, which led, finally, to such successes, that an Austrian colonel arrived at the French head-quarters and proposed conditions of an armistice, which was concluded on the 16th January 1801, at Treviso, the capital of the Venetian province of Trevisano, within twenty miles of Venice. The line of demarcation between the two armies was to be the Tagliamento, from its source in the mountains of the Tyrol to where it falls into the Adriatic. The four fortresses of Peschiera, Porto-Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona, were to be given up to the French ; the blockade of Mantua was to be continued : but, by a new armistice, concluded at Luneville, on the 6th February, the Emperor, as a proof of sincerity, agreed to give up, besides the four fortresses just mentioned, that also of Mantua.

The great object of Buonaparté in these negotiations is sufficiently displayed in the answer which he made to the proposal of peace by the Court of Vienna : " The left bank of the Rhine shall be the boundary of the French Republic ; she makes no pretension to the right bank. The interest of Europe does not permit the Emperor to pass the Adige. The independence of the Helvetic and Batavian Republics shall be ensured and guaranteed. Our victories add nothing to the pretensions of the French

people. Austria ought not to expect from her defeats what she could not have obtained by her victories: such are the invariable principals of the government. The welfare of France shall be to restore tranquillity to Germany and Italy; her glory to deliver the continent from the avaricious and destructive genius of England."

It may be remarked here, that as Moreau, in the armistice of Steyer, included the Gallo Batavian army, so General Brune, in his stipulations with General Bellegarde, included that of the Grisons. But Macdonald, who was desirous of performing some feat that might astonish Europe after his passage of the mountains, wrote a captious and peevish letter to General Brune; in which he observes, among other subjects of reproach, that he, Le Brune, "had no right to stipulate for the army of the Grisons; the business of which was only to favour the operations of the army of Italy, without giving you any right to command me." It is easy to see that a mean and illaudable desire to acquire personal glory, at the expense of humanity and the interests of society, influenced Macdonald here, who preferred the opportunity of signalizing himself by some act of greatness to the more dignified renown of saving the effusion of human blood. Such is man, and such his passions! the feelings of self interest obtrude upon the mind and blind it to the nobler impulses, which would direct it to a more glorious and more solid renown. This dispute between the two generals was soon ended, however, by the convention of Luneville, where all the demands of the French were complaisantly granted.

Buonaparté now obtained his wish: Germany, who had so long resolved not to treat separately, found herself reduced to a situation which no longer permitted her to think of her Allies: these successive armistices led the way to a final pacification; and, after various delays, negotiations, and concessions, the following Articles of Peace were definitively agreed upon, between the First

Consul of the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany :

TREATY OF PEACE.

*Concluded at LUNEVILLE, February 9, 1801, between the FRENCH
- REPUBLIC and the EMPEROR and the GERMANIC BODY.*

" His Majesty the Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, having equally at heart to put an end to the miseries of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity.

" His said Imperial and Royal Majesty, not less anxiously desirous of making the Germanic Empire participate in the blessings of peace; and the present conjuncture not allowing the time necessary for the Empire to be consulted, and to take part by its deputies in the negotiation; his said Majesty having, besides regard to what has been agreed upon by the deputation of the Empire at the preceding congress at Rastadt, has resolved, in conformity with the precedent of what has taken place in similar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic Body.

" In consequence of which the contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries; to wit :

" His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Sieur Louis Cobentzel, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the royal order of St. John of Jerusalem, Chamberlain and Privy Counsellor of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, his Minister for Conference, and Vice-chancellor of court of state;

" And, the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, has appointed Citizen Joseph Buonaparté Counsellor of State; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following Articles:

ART. I. " There shall be, henceforth and for ever, peace, amity, and good understanding, between his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia; stipulating as well in his own name as that of the Germanic Empire and the French Republic; his said Majesty engaging to cause the Empire to give ratification in good and due form to the present Treaty. The greatest attention shall be paid on both sides to the maintenance of perfect harmony, to preventing all hostilities by land and by sea, on whatever pretence, and to carefully endeavour to maintain the union happily established. No assistance or protection shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would do any thing to the prejudice of either of the contracting parties.

II. " The cession of the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces to the French

Republic, stipulated by the 3rd article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed here in the most formal manner; so that his Imperial and Royal Majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, renounces all his right and title to the said provinces, which shall be possessed henceforth as their sovereign right and property by the French Republic, with all the territorial property dependant on it. There shall also be given up to the French Republic by his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and with the formal consent of the Empire;

1st. "The castle of Falkenstein, with its dependencies;

2nd. "The Frickthal, and all belonging to the House of Austria on the left banks of the Rhine between Zurzach and Basle; the French Republic reserving to itself the right of ceding the latter country to the Helvetian Republic.

III. "In the same manner, in the renewal and confirmation of the 6th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, his Majesty the Emperor and King shall possess in sovereignty, and as his right, the countries below enumerated; viz. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, dependant upon those countries; the Bocca de Cattaro; the city of Venice; the canals, and the country included between the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor and King; the Adriatic Sea, and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the said sea, the towing-path of the Adige serving as the line of limitation; and as by this line the cities of Verona and of Porto Legnano will be divided, there shall be established on the middle of the bridges of the said cities drawbridges, to mark the separation.

IV. "The 18th article of the treaty of Campo Formio is also renewed, thus far: that his Majesty the Emperor and King binds himself to yield to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the country which this prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Brisgau; which he shall hold on the same terms as those by virtue of which he possesses the Modenese.

V. "It is, moreover, agreed, that his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany shall renounce, for himself and his successors, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and that part of the Isle of Elba which is dependant upon it, as well as all right and title resulting from his claims on the said states, which shall be henceforth possessed in complete sovereignty, and as his own property, by his Royal Highness the infant Duke of Parma. The Grand Duke shall obtain in Germany a full and complete indemnity for his Italian states. The Grand Duke shall dispose at pleasure of the goods and property which he possesses in Tuscany, either by personal acquisitions or by descent, from his late father the Emperor Leopold II. or from his grandfather the Emperor Francis I. It is also agreed that the credits,

establishments, and other property of the Grand Duchy, as well as the debts secured from the country, shall pass to the Grand Duke.

VI. " His Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, consents that the French Republic shall possess henceforth in complete sovereignty, and as their property, the country and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and which formed part of the Germanic Empire: so that, in conformity with what had been expressly consented to at the congress of Rastadt by the deputation of the Empire, and approved by the Emperor, the towing-path of the Rhine will henceforth be the limit between the French Republic and the Germanic Empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic to that where it enters the Batavian territory.

In consequence of this the French Republic formally renounces all possession whatever on the right bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those to whom they may belong the fortresses of Dusseldorf, Ehrenbrietstein, Philipsburg, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mentz, on the right bank the fort of Kehl, and Old Brissach, on the express condition, that these places and fortresses shall continue and remain in the same state in which they were at the time of their evacuation.

VII. " And as, in consequence of the cession which the Empire will be dispossessed, either altogether or in part, whom it is incumbent upon the Germanic Empire, collectively to support and compensate for the losses resulting from the stipulations in the present treaty; it is agreed between his Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, and the French Republic, that, in conformity with the principles formally established at the congress at Rastadt, the Emperor shall be bound to give to the Hereditary Princes who shall be dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine indemnity, which shall be taken from the whole of the Empire, according to arrangements which, on these bases, shall be ultimately determined upon.

VIII. In all the ceded countries acquired or exchanged by the present treaty, it is agreed, as had already been done by the 4th and 10th article, of the treaty of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong shall take them, subject to the debts charged on the said countries; but considering the difficulties which have arisen in this respect, with regard to the interpretation of the said articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood, that the French Republic will not take upon itself any more than the debts resulting from the loans formally agreed to by the states of the ceded countries, or by the actual administration of such countries.

IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the pre-

sent treaty, the sequestration imposed on property, effects, and revenues of the inhabitants or proprietors, shall be taken off. The contracting parties oblige themselves to pay all they may owe for money lent them by individuals, as well as by the public establishments of the said countries, created for their benefit on every one of them. In consequence of this it is expressly admitted, that the holders of stock in the bank of Vienna, become French subjects, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their funds, and shall receive the interest accrued or to accrue, notwithstanding any sequestration, or any demand derogatory to their rights; particularly, notwithstanding the infringement which the holders aforesaid, become French subjects, sustained by not being able to pay the thirty-and-one hundred per cent demanded by his Imperial and Royal Majesty of all creditors of the bank of Vienna.

X. The contracting parties shall also cause all the sequestrations to be taken off which have been imposed, on account of the war, on the property, the rights, and revenues of the Emperor or of the Empire in the territory of the French Republic, and of the French citizens in the state of his said Majesty or the Empire.

XI. The present treaty of peace, and particularly the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 15th articles, are declared to extend to and to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics. The contracting parties mutually guarantee the independence of the said Republic, and the right of the people who inhabit them to adopt what form of government they please.

XII. His Imperial and Royal Majesty renounces for himself, and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine Republic, all rights and titles arising from those rights which his Majesty might claim on the countries, which he possessed before the war, and which, by the conditions of the 8th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, now form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which shall possess them as their sovereignty and property, with all the territorial property dependent upon it.

XIII. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, confirms the agreement already entered into by the treaty of Campo Formio, for the union of the *ci-devant* Imperial Fiefs to the Ligurian Republic, and renounces all rights and titles arising from these rights on the said fiefs.

XIV. In conformity to the 2nd article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the navigation of the Adige, which serves as the limits between his Majesty the Emperor and King, and the navigation of the rivers in the Cisalpine Republic shall be free; nor shall any toll be imposed on any ship of war kept there.

XV. All prisoners of war on both sides, as well as hostages taken

or given during the war, who shall not be yet restored, shall be so within forty days from the time of signing the present treaty.

XVI. The real and personal property, unalienated, of his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her Royal Highness the Archduchess Christiana, deceased, situated in the countries ceded to the French Republic, shall be restored to them on condition of their selling them within three years. The same shall be the case also with the landed and personal property of their Royal Highnesses the Archduke Ferdinand and the Archduchess Beatrice, his wife, in the territory of the Cisalpine Republic.

XVII. The 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 23rd articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, are particularly renewed, and are to be executed according to their form and effect, as if they were here repeated *verbatim*.

XVIII. The contributions, payments, and war impositions, of whatever kind, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, on the one hand by his Imperial Majesty, and of the German Empire, and on the other by the French Republic.

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the Emperor and King, by the Empire, and by the French Republic, in the space of thirty days, or sooner if possible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two powers shall remain in their present position, both in Germany and Italy, until the ratification shall be respectively and at the same moment exchanged at Luneville.

"It is also agreed, that, ten days after the exchange of the ratifications, the armies of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, shall enter the hereditary possessions, which shall within the same space of time be evacuated by the French armies; and thirty days after the said ratifications shall be exchanged the French armies shall evacuate the whole of the territory of the said Empire.

"Executed at Luneville, Feb. 9th 1801.

(L. S.)

"LOUIS, COUNT COBENTZEL.

(L. S.)

"JOSEPH BUONAPARTE."

This successful termination of a war which had been carried on with few interruptions for a period of ten years, diffused a general satisfaction through France; and the First Consul immediately notified the joyful event to the Legislative Body, the Tribune, and the Conservative Senate: his Address, as usual, abounded with a florid amplification of facts, and an affected sententiousness of language. Among other things he did not fail to re-echo

the hacknied topic, that it was England alone, which, by its gold and ambition, continued to disturb the tranquillity of mankind :

" The continental peace," says he, " has been signed at Luneville ; it is such as the French people desired. Their first wish was the boundary of the Rhine. Reverses never shook their resolution ; victory never added to their pretensions.

" After having re-established the ancient limits of Gaul, they had to give freedom to the people who were united to them by one common origin, as well as by a community of interests and manners.

" The liberty of the Cisalpines, and of Liguria, is secured.

" After this duty, there was another, which justice and generosity imposed.

" The King of Spain had been faithful to our cause, and suffered for it. Neither our reverses, nor the perfidious insinuations of our enemies, could detach him from our interests ; he will have a just recompense ; a prince of his blood is to sit on the throne of Tuscany.

" He will remember what he owes to the fidelity of Spain and to the friendship of France ; his roadsteads and his ports will be shut against our enemies, and will become the asylum of our commerce and our ships.

" Austria, and it is this which is the pledge of peace, Austria henceforth separated from the Republic by vast regions, will no longer feel that rivalry, those heart burnings, which, for so many ages, have occasioned the torment of these two powers, and the calamities of Europe.

" By this treaty every thing is settled with respect to France ; it will no longer have to struggle against the forms and the intrigues of a congress.

" The government owes the expression of its satisfaction, to the Minister Plenipotentiary who has conducted the negotiation to this happy termination. There remain

neither interpretations to be feared nor explanations to be demanded, nor those equivocal arrangements in which the diplomatic art deposits the seeds of a new war.

“ Wherefore, was not this treaty the treaty of a general peace? this was the wish of France: this was the constant object of the efforts of the government.

“ But its efforts are in vain! all Europe knows that the British minister has endeavoured to frustrate the negotiations at Luneville.

“ In vain did an agent, authorised by the government, declare to him, on the 9th of October 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negotiation. This declaration only produced a refusal, under the pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since then, when their ally consents to treat without England, that government seeks other means to delay a peace so necessary to the world.

“ It violates conventions which humanity had consecrated, and declares war against miserable fishermen!

“ It raises pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. The whole commerce of Asia, and of immense colonies, does not satisfy its ambition. All the seas must submit to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, because Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have secured, by treaties of guarantee, their sovereignty and the independence of their flags.

“ The powers of the North, unjustly attacked, have a right to reckon upon France. The French government will avenge with them a common injury to all nations; without ever losing sight, however, that it ought only to fight for peace and the good of the world.”

Such was the mixture of hypocrisy, vaunting, and falsehood, that Buonaparté addressed to his different senates. To England, as to the natural enemy of France, he does not conceal one jot of his antipathy, and with that happy art of amplifying trifles into serious objects,

which he so eminently possesses, he endeavours to fix upon this country the stigma of waging war with "miserable fishermen."

Upon this subject a long correspondence took place between M. Otto and the Transport Board, respecting the capture of fishermen on the coast of France. This practice had been for a time suspended by the English, and those who had been made prisoners were released upon the express condition that they should not serve against this country; but, it was found that the perfidy of France was not to be relied on: these very fishermen were employed, along with their boats, to equip and arm the fleet of the enemy in Brest; in every point of view, therefore, they deserved to be considered as hostile persons, and to be subject to the chances of war. The order for their capture was, therefore, again renewed, and a communication from the Transport Office demanded of M. Otto, through his means, "the immediate return into this country of all the fishermen released on their parole:" and it was added that those who should neglect to conform to these orders would be treated with all the rigor of the laws, should they again be made prisoners. Mr. Dundas, also communicated with Mr. Otto upon the subject. M. Otto in his reply, informed the Transport Office that he had transmitted their Letter to his Government; but, meanwhile, he added some remarks upon the impolicy of the measure, which were not altogether devoid of cogency. At length a Letter arrived from Talleyrand, ordering M. Otto to leave England, and concluding with a flourish of humanity, too obviously affected to deserve praise or credit; "It having been always," says Talleyrand, in the name of the First Consul, "the first desire of the French government to contribute to a general pacification, and a maxim with it to soften, as much as possible, the evils of war; the Government cannot, on its part, think of making the poor fishermen victims of the prolongation of hostility; it will, therefore,

abstain from all such reprisals, and, on the contrary, it has given orders for all the French ships, armed for war, or cruising, to leave the occupation of fishermen uninterrupted."

This was a mere piece of political finesse, endeavouring to vaunt the generous magnanimity of the "Great Nation," and to shew the barbarous ferocity of the English. The world, however, could not long be duped; if these men were hostilely employed against this country, it mattered not whether they were young or old, fishermen, or shepherds, they were just objects of our resentment, and liable to all the rigours of a state of warfare.

But let us return from this petty dispute to the grand operations on the continent.

The treaty of Luneville being signed, Italy and Germany were now at the nod of Buonaparté. These great countries, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Lower Rhine, the French contemplated as one continued scene of victory, power, and triumph. The Emperor had sustained many reverses of fortune, and it cannot be denied that he had gallantly maintained a contest, the propriety of whose origin yet remains a problem to the politicians of the day. Humbled as he now was, there appeared every probability of a lasting peace; he would not, indeed he could not, very soon be in a condition to renew the war; and the First Consul thus saw the boundaries of France enlarged, and his own power acquiring daily a greater stability.

Before we conclude our view of the military operations of this period, we must not omit to notice the bravery with which a small garrison in the town and fortress of Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, defied the utmost efforts of the French for its reduction, at a time when almost the whole continent was crouching at their feet.

When the French troops entered Tuscany in October, 1800, a number of English who were at Leghorn, under

the conduct of Mr. Isaac Grant, the English Vice Consul at that port, took refuge in Porto Ferrajo: at his instigation, the inhabitants formed the magnanimous resolution of defending themselves against the Republicans. The men prepared for active warfare, and even the women took a part in the defence of the place. Three hundred soldiers, principally artillerymen, were afforded them from the English squadron under Sir J. B. Warren. In addition to this, there were 400 Corsicans, paid by the English, and a number of Neapolitan deserters; so that the effective garrison of the place amounted to 1,500 effective men.

On the land side it was invested by a French army of 5,000 men: batteries were raised, and the town and fortresses were bombarded. It was twice attempted to be stormed, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. A sally was made by the besieged, led on by Mr. Grant, and the principal batteries of the French were destroyed. The besieging army was reinforced, new batteries were constructed, and the bombardment was ready to be recommenced; when, in the beginning of August, the inhabitants of Porto Ferrajo were summoned to surrender, by the Count of Ventura, the minister of their new sovereign the King of Etruria, with a promise of amnesty*. To this summons the garrison returned for answer, that they acknowledged no authority but that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The bombardment was recommenced from a new battery of four mortars, which did great damage.

Sir J. B. Warren, who was watching the motions of the enemy at Toulon, left a division of his squadron to cover Porto Ferrajo. On the 14th September, the Admiral returned. His whole force amounted to seven ships of the line, three frigates, and two brigs, and carried

* The eldest son of the Duke of Parma, agreeably to the treaty of Luneville, was called to the throne of Tuscany; and on July 26th, began to exercise the rights of sovereignty.

troops destined for the relief of the brave garrison. The ships of war were prevented from entering the harbour by the enemies batteries. The troops, to the number of 3,000, with a detachment of sailors, were landed at different points as near Porto Ferrajo as possible. At the same instant the besieged made a sally, and got possession of the battery, which, contributed, principally, to prevent the English squadron from entering the harbour. The English had advanced about a mile and a half from the beach, when the French General, Martin, seizing a favorable opportunity, attacked them with the bayonet: an attack was at the same time made by the Adjutant Commandant Sacklem, on the side of the city. The English, after an obstinate engagement, was forced to retreat, and make, as well as they could, to their vessels. The English frigates taking advantage of the moment, when the detachment from Porto Ferrajo became masters of the French battery, had entered the harbour; they were now under the necessity of retiring: one of them being disabled, was towed off by a number of gun-boats.

In the mean time an attack was also made by a party of the English on Marciana. This offensive operation was covered with three ships, but it was unsuccessful, Marciana was garrisoned principally by Polish troops, and the English were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. On this day near a thousand of our men, including officers, were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. It was an unfortunate attempt, but not therefore an ill-planned one; War is as capricious in its decrees as Fortune, and success is as frequently the result of accident, as of well concerted measures.

But the effect of this disaster was entirely done away by subsequent successes. In the month of November, previously to the confirmation of peace between France and England, a desperate sally was made under the command of Mr. Grant, and after an obstinate and sanguinary

combat, they not only took the outer intrenchments of the French camp, but the port of Madonna della Grazia.

The island of Elba is eight miles long and two broad; part of it belonged to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and part to the King of the Two Sicilies. The Tuscan part was ceded by the treaty of Luneville; and for what belonged to Naples, his Sicilian Majesty received Piombino, a principality of Tuscany.

We shall close this chapter with adverting cursorily to the internal state of Naples during this period. Great insurrections prevailed both in Naples and Sardinia, so that many families of distinction removed to Rome. The malcontents were headed by a daring chief, called Mannone, who advanced to the frontiers of the Roman territories, and appeared resolute to try his strength against any troops that might be sent to oppose him. In Sardinia, too, the same spirit of disaffection and revolt manifested itself; there the insurgents were under the command of an illiterate and ignorant ruffian who could neither read nor write: this bold adventurer conferred pretended honours on the most active of his followers, levied money on the country, and set a price on the heads of those who were inimical to him: nor was this hostile spirit of insurrection broken, until France and England recognised and confirmed an established order of affairs in Italy.

It is now time that we turn our attention to Egypt, where we shall behold British valour acquiring laurels that will never fade in the recollection of posterity. The remembrance of this campaign, is still cherished with enthusiasm, and a detailed account of its brilliant exploits cannot but be interesting to every Englishman.

CHAPTER XI.

General Observations....Affairs in Egypt....Classical Interest attached to the Country of Egypt,,and Reflections excited by its present and former State....A brief Account of its present Political and Physical Condition....Origin of its Name....Its Boundaries....Upper and Lower Egypt....Their Limits....The Seven Branches of the Nile now reduced to Two....Cause of the Brackish taste of its Waters in the Branches of Rosetta and Damietta....Causes of the Destruction of the Pelusiac Branch....Origin of the Production of Lower Egypt.

THE treaty of Luneville shall be to us a sort of rallying point, up to which we will bring our narrative of events; and, this being done, it will then serve as a point of departure, from which to proceed in our history. For this purpose we have already traced the principal events of Europe up to that epoch, from the period where we left off; and we have now to resume our account of the operations in Egypt.

In turning from Germany and Italy, where the Austrians, after various successes, had retired beneath the shelter of a peace, to Egypt, how many emotions naturally throng to the bosom of an Englishman. On their burning shores the valour of our countrymen was displayed in a manner that will be looked back upon by our posterity, with sentiments of pride and exultation. An army inured to hardships, and particularly to those of the climate of the East, flushed with recent successes, and at any rate confident in their own prowess, from the prosperous issue of the French arms for nearly ten years of uninterrupted warfare; this was the army which an inferior number of British had to oppose, under the peculiar difficulties of

landing in a hostile country. Our troops were neither inured to the climate; nor hardened by campaigns, but borne forward by the steady valour of true courage they proved to Europe, that when opposed, on equal terms, to a French army, they were inferior neither in discipline, perseverance, nor bravery.

A campaign in every point of view so illustrious, and in a particular manner so interesting to Englishmen, deserves to be treated with amplitude: and our readers cannot but feel gratified by the correct and copious detail of these events which we are now about to lay before them.

There is, indeed, a local interest attached to Egypt, which forms another point of attraction in the present subject: its shores are venerable; every spot is connected with some great event of former times; the cradle of knowledge in the earliest periods of time, how has it degenerated! its relics of ancient splendour and magnificence; how they seem to heighten the contrast, and what a lesson do they read to man! Empires and states, like the life of man, have their epochs of grandeur and decline; he would be pitied as destitute of feeling, who could behold, unmoved, the classic sports of Greece and Rome, a prey to ignorance, and brutality, and superstition; and the same sentence may be extended to him who can remember the country of the Ptolemys in its present fallen state, and not sigh over its humiliation. At the name of Egypt, a thousand recollections crowd into the mind. Passing over the earliest periods, passing over the times of Cyrus and Cambyses and Alexander, memory animates into temporary existence those events that have been embalmed to posterity in the classic pages of the Roman authors: Antony and Cleopatra, Cæsar and Augustus, appear before us, and we identify them upon the same spots that have been so recently signalised by British valour. Strange revolutions of things! When these

exploits were performing almost two thousand years ago, Britain was a rude and savage land: the poet of Augustus exclaimed,

“ *Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*”

The soldiers of Cæsar trembled, as they thought of exploring its gloomy shores, and returning to Rome, they boasted with greater enthusiasm of having braved its dark and sullen coast, than of conquering whole armies. This country has now risen to be the first among modern nations; and the descendants of its painted aborigines, have reaped laurels in the very same fields where their haughty oppressors triumphed when they were but savages. The philosopher, as he contemplates these things, feels intensely the perishable nature of every thing that is earthly, and while he owns, with secret exultation, the splendid fortune of his native land at the present moment, he thinks, with a sigh, that the time will assuredly come when the traveller shall sail upon the bosom of the Thames, and ask, “Where stood London, the emporium of the world?” or he will wander amid her ruined palaces, and look back upon the present times, as among the wreck of things that were.

Previously to commencing our account of the military operations in Egypt, we presume it will not be unacceptable to our readers if we offer them an abstracted view of its present political, physical, and moral state. The propriety of this will be the more evident when we consider the favorite plans of Buonaparté upon this country, and the severe disappointment he suffered in the frustration of them: it will serve also, to impress upon our readers a clearer idea of the scene of action, and enable them to comprehend several of the particulars of the campaign with more precision.

The name is derived from *Ægyptus*, brother of Danaus, and son of Belus; it is divided into Upper and Lower Egypt. The latter is that part which lies near the Medi-

terranean, the former towards the South. Upper Egypt was famous for the town of Thebes, but Lower Egypt was the most peopled, and contained the Delta a number of large islands, which, from their form, have been called after the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet. This country has been the mother of arts and sciences. The greatest part of Lower Egypt has been formed by the mud and sand carried down by the Nile. The Egyptians reckoned themselves the most ancient in the universe, but some authors make them of Ethiopian origin.

Modern Egypt has been described by various travellers; and Volney has given a faithful outline of the physical and political character of the country. But no writer has been led by his profession, and peculiar situation, to consider Egypt with a view to military operations, and an internal administration, connected with a state of war. It cannot, however, be denied, that an acquaintance with these objects is necessary to the forming a just opinion of the military and political events of which it has recently been the theatre. The particulars which we shall briefly communicate to our readers, have been collected not only from the most recent, but from the most authentic sources, and principally from the work of Reynier, who, as an eye witness, and as a military man, is entitled to every consideration:

Egypt is enclosed by natural barriers. Separated from Asia by deserts, a small number of lower grounds, in which brackish water is found, are the only routes by which an army can approach on that side. The flat shore of Egypt on the Mediterranean, and the mouths of the Nile, embarrassed with bars of sand, afford only a few places proper to land troops. Bounded on the West by immense deserts, Egypt is subject, on that side only, to irruptions of the Arabs of Barbary. Separated from the Red Sea by a desert, she has little reason to dread an attack from that quarter, since the two ports of that sea offer no resource to an invading army, which could

scarcely procure fresh water there, and must obtain from Egypt itself the provisions and camels necessary to pass the Desert.

On each side of the Nile, in Higher Egypt, is a chain of barren mountains. The valley in which the river flows between these mountains, is from four to five leagues in breadth, and is covered with water at the periodical inundations of the Nile. This valley alone is cultivated and inhabited. The chain of mountains on the Eastern side, which separates the Nile from the Red Sea, is of greater height than the Western; it terminates towards the valley by precipices, which, in many places, have the appearance of a high and immense wall-broken here and there by narrow valleys, formed by hidden and temporary winter torrents, which serve for paths to pass over these mountains. The Western chain, which separates the valley of the Nile from that of Ouasis, generally declines in a gradual manner. Towards Siout, however, it is more abrupt; and from the angle, which the Nile forms near Heunh, it is steep, like the Eastern chain, till it reaches Sienna, where the mountains rise still higher, and leave only a narrow passage to the river.

In the neighbourhood of Cairo the distance between these two chains of mountains increases. The Eastern terminates towards the extremity of the Red Sea, without any appearance of connexion with the mountains of Arabia, which terminate in the same manner.

The manner in which the chain of mountains, on each coast of the Red Sea, terminates, and the low lands, which form a species of valley in the isthmus of Suez; a valley inclosed on each side, with sand-hills stretching to the foot of the mountains, particularly on the side of Asia, would lead us to suppose that, in former times, there was a communication between the two seas by a strait, since filled with sands, brought thither by the opposing currents and the accumulation of mud of the Nile at the mouth of that river. Some extraordinary change, which has altered

the level of the Mediterranean, (since that is twenty-five feet lower than the Red Sea) may have contributed to the first formation of the isthmus, which has, since, been greatly increased by the mud of the Nile.

But to return to the chains of mountains. The Western one declines towards Fayoum, and near Cairo takes its direction to the North-west, and afterwards to the West, where it forms the coast of the Mediterranean. The rocks in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and Aboukir appear to be an island detached from this chain of mountains. In the space which lies between these two chains and the sea, is the plain of Lower Egypt, formed, in great part, of the deposited earth of the Nile, by the branches of which river, and numerous canals cut for irrigation, it is intersected.

The seven branches by which the Nile formerly spread itself through the Delta to the sea, are, at present, reduced to two principal branches—those of Rosetta and Damietta; one or two canals, navigable only part of the year, are the only remains of the other branches. The Canal of Moez is the ancient Sanitic branch, and that of Achmoun the Mendesian: their mouths are still to be traced at Omfaredje and at Dibeh. The canals of Karineu and Tabanieh, which fall into the sea at Bourlos, are the vestiges of the ancient Sebennitic branch.

Fewer traces are found of the Pelusiæ and Canopic branches, which, approaching each other near the Desert, are widely separated in the Delta.

The traces of the Pelusiæ branch are, however, very distinct in the province of Chackich; and its mouth is at Tineh, near the ruins of Pelusium.

It is probable, that when the seven branches of the Nile existed together, they severally contained nearly an equal body of water. The subsequent unequal division of this fluid, canals cut, in all directions, to affect its equilibrium; canals whose channels were neglected, and other causes, having diminished the body of water in one

of these branches; the water naturally falling at its mouth, the sea rushed in, drove back the fresh water and completely mingled with it. The brackish quality of the water of this branch, after this revolution, destroyed the fertility of the land it overflowed, and compelled the cultivators to abandon it,

An ignorance of the cause of the sterility of the land, or the interest of cantons more favoured and popular, have prevented the re-establishment of the equilibrium of the water; and the preservation of the canals has been neglected in proportion as the cultivators retired from their banks to more fertile parts of the country.

This effect is sometimes observed in the branches of Rosetta and Damietta. The breach of a dyke, or other circumstances, increasing the body of water in one of the branches at the expense of the other, the sea penetrates into that which falls in its level, impregnating the land with salt, and compelling the cultivator to desert it; till, the equilibrium being established, the fresh water imbues the land sufficiently to restore its fertility.

Other causes have contributed to destroy the Pelusiatic branch. The Croisades, by burning and destroying the city of Pelusium, and other principal cities of that canton, drove the inhabitants from that frontier province exposed to all the miseries of war. The Pelusiatic branch was no longer preserved. The cultivators inhabiting other branches, eager to engross the waters of the Nile, diverted them to their own lands; and, the equilibrium thus destroyed, the sea flowed into this branch. The lands, abandoned, and no longer irrigated with fresh water, were imbued with salt, and extensive cantons became sterile deserts.

It cannot be doubted that Lower Egypt, in great part, owes its existence to the accumulation of earth deposited by the Nile. The agitated matter, which that river did not leave on its banks, must settle where the equilibrium

of the contending motions of the river and the sea produced a calm. The matter thus deposited formed bars or sandbanks, which the different movements of the water extended to the right and left. Increasing successively by the action of the winds and water, they, at length, formed the chains of sandbanks which lie between the various mouths of the Nile.

THE END OF CHAP. XI.

CHAPTER XII.

PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTER OF
EGYPT CONTINUED.

Physical Observations on the Formation of the Land from the Mud of the Nile...Lake Etko...Lake Mareotis....Period of the Inundation of the Nile...Its Variations....Difficulty of military Operations in Egypt....Produce of the Soil....Imports....The great Abundance of Water....Superior Nature of Slavery in Egypt....Its Advantages as a Colony, and the chief Places for Depôts pointed out....The Mamelukes....Their Enmity to the Porte....The Probability of their ultimate Extinction....Advantages of such an Event.

THESE sandbanks would long remain separated from the land accumulated from the direct deposits of the river, by intervals or lakes formed by the influx of the sea, although receiving the river water at the period of the inundation: but such lakes must diminish in proportion as the growth of land, formed by the agitation of the river, filled up the channels by which the sea entered.

As the mud of the river naturally first overflows the low grounds nearest its bed, its banks would be the first to rise above the level of the other land, the growth of land of deposited mud would be slower in its progress in more distant parts; and hence there would remain lakes, towards the coasts lying at the greatest distance from the point where the Nile branches into several canals. Thus there have always been marshes near Pelusium; and the bed of the Lake Mareotis continues to lie very low.

The land growing from the Nile tends naturally to fill these lakes, enlarge Lower Egypt, and gain on the sea; the sea opposes this tendency. The growth of land from

the Nile is, perhaps, arrived at that point where it no longer gains in one quarter but by losing in another. It has been observed that, for many centuries past, more land has been gained by the sea than accumulated from the mud of the Nile. It is even to be foreseen, that, if art does not direct the operations of nature, if the body of water is suffered to spread, and the beds of the principal branches of the river to be enlarged, and the equilibrium of water at the mouths of the river neglected, the sea will gain new lands from the cultivators instead of yielding any. This is, in truth, the fate that menaces Egypt, if that country remains in the hands of an ignorant people.

It has been before observed, that when a diminution of water in one of the branches of the river permits an influx of the sea into its channel, the salt water spreads over the low grounds and into the lakes bordering on the river. Sometimes, aided by storms on the coast, the sea water extends beyond the boundaries of the lakes, overflows the land which (having accumulated from the deposits of the Nile) separates the lakes from the branches of the river, and compels the cultivator to abandon a territory rendered sterile by these inundations.

By this process may be explained the formation of the shallow and marshy lakes which lie on the coasts of Egypt. The largest of these, Lake Menzaleh, now covers a great part of the land formerly watered by the Pelusiac, Tanitic, and Mendesian branches. Lake Bourlos is near the mouth of the ancient Sebennitic, and canals cut from the branch of Rosetta. Lake Maadiéh is near the ancient Canopic mouth.

Lake Etko, a new lake, formed during the inundation of 1801, was occasioned by the opening of the canal of Deirout, by the inconsiderate orders of General Menou. The water of the canal, spreading in a large body over the neighbouring low grounds, forced itself a passage, among the sandhills, to the sea. After the usual inundation, when the level of the fresh water had fallen, the

channel it had formed near *La Matruh* ~~Quarrée~~ being no longer full, the sea rushed in by that passage and formed a new lake.

Lake Mareotis was too far distant from the Nile to be filled with its mud. The canal cut to convey water to Alexandria, and, afterwards, the neglect to keep open the canals of Bahireh, which flow into the lake, diverted the waters of the Nile from the lake; and its communication with the sea being choked up, the water of the lake evaporated: Lake Mareotis had, therefore, been dry for a long period; but there still remained in its bed brackish mud and a moving sand; and, receiving the rain in winter, and small quantities of the Nile, during the inundation, through the canals of Bahireh, it is marshy during a great part of the year.

The English having cut the dyke of the canal of Alexandria*, which separates the canal from Lake Madiéh, that lake was again overflowed by the sea. It extends through a valley parallel to the sea, from which it is separated only by a hill, whose breadth in some places is no more than five hundred toises; it stretches beyond the tower of the Arabs.

There are also a few lakes, formed by the superfluous waters of the inundations of the Nile, which spreading over hollow places that have no outlet, are dissipated afterwards only by evaporation. Such are the lakes of Fayoum, Grarak, Birket el Hadji, Ouadi, Tomlat, and of those named Krah, through which passes the canal of

* Reynier is of opinion that this operation entirely separates Alexandria from the rest of Egypt, and that the city being deprived of water will inevitably occasion its ruin, if not speedily repaired. "But" he adds, "is it to be expected that the Turks are in a condition to undertake so considerable a work without the aid of Europe? The Turkish government, which by its nature tends to destroy, instead of preserving, great public works, cannot be supposed to apply itself with much vigour to remedy this evil or to make such pecuniary sacrifices as the labour would demand."

Suez. These last receive the water of the Nile only when the inundation is very great.

Besides the branches and principal canals before described, Lower Egypt is intersected by various canals of irrigation, cut from the grand branches. The waters of the inundation conveyed by these canals, and retained by dykes in several districts, first of all water the higher ground, and, having successively served to fertilize many cantons, glide into the lakes or the sea.

The swelling of the Nile begins in the summer solstice and reaches its greatest extent in the autumnal equinox; when, having displayed its grandeur for a few days, it begins to diminish: the waters of the inundation subside more gradually than they rose. At the winter solstice the river is already low, but there still remains water in the grand canals. At this period the land is put into a course of culture, and soon after the country is passable.

The large canals employed in irrigation begin to fill at the latter end of August, and the whole of Egypt is inundated in the beginning of September: the waters spread more or less rapidly according to the various cantons. Usually the communications are again opened for foot passengers at the end of November, but the low grounds and the canals are then still filled with water or mud. They dry up in December: at that period many of the principal canals are, however, still impassable for troops and artillery, the water being too shallow for boats, and the bed of the canal too deep with mud to be forded. As bridges and roads are very rare in Egypt, and no route is formed for the principal points of communication, the Delta cannot conveniently be crossed but in the months of January and February.

The rise and fall of the Nile happen earlier or later by fifteen days, or, sometimes, even a month; but it may be established as a general rule, that Lower Egypt is passable, in a complete manner, only from the beginning of February to the end of August. None but the great

branches at this time contain water, and on them may always be found boats for passage. The cantons which receive water only by cut canals; and after the higher lands have been inundated, are not passable till later: such, for instance, is part of the province of Charkieh.

By this sketch it will be seen that military operations are not practicable in Lower Egypt during more than seven months in the year. It is possible, indeed, during the other months, to march on the borders of the Desert; but the villages in that quarter are little able to furnish the provisions necessary to an army wanting every thing, after the passage of the Desert, and no communications can be kept open from thence with the villages of the interior during September, October, November, and December.

Thus, also, an army landing on the coast, and wishing at this period to commence operations in the interior of Egypt, could do so only by water. An enemy would, however, find advantages in arriving at this season, if he was content to establish himself on certain points of the coast, where he could with difficulty be attacked, while he combined the means of his campaign for the proper season.

An army that had Egypt to defend would also be embarrassed in its operations during the inundation. Part of its movements being made by water, they would be always tardy and difficult to execute. There are even points on the coast where forces could not be concentrated, if suddenly attacked, without the greatest obstacles.

Thus far we have followed Reynier's account without hesitation, because, though his book is full of errors and wilful misrepresentations in the military details of the campaign, it is presumable that, in delineating the physical state of Egypt he could have no motive to lie. In what we have further to narrate upon these subjects we shall avail ourselves of the labours of other writers, and

thus be enabled to present to our readers the concentrated observations of different authorities; an advantage, the interest and value of which need not be enforced. Egypt indeed is now so connected with European politics that it must be an object of curiosity and importance; and its fertility renders it a most valuable colony to any power, more especially since the means of subsistence have not increased in Europe in proportion to the population.

The ground at present yields three crops; with care these crops might be made productive of, at least, one-third more than their present quantity; even now, after affording subsistence to 3,000,000 of inhabitants, vast supplies are sent to Arabia and Turkey. On an average, a crop of corn in Egypt yields from twenty-five to thirty measures for one; instances have occurred when one hundred and fifty times the seed sown has been reaped! Barley, wheat, and rice, grow almost spontaneously.

The sugar-cane grows luxuriantly, and excellent sugar is manufactured. The olive tree is to be found, and the coffee tree, with attention, might certainly be introduced; in short, every thing which the wants and luxuries of Europe demand might here be cultivated. From her locality, Egypt would soon again recover, by commerce, considerable splendor, if a good government did but direct the resources. Even under the Beys the revenue annually amounted to 1,500,000*l.* sterling, and the French derived in addition sufficient supplies in kind for their armies.

Africa sends to Cairo, ivory, gold-dust, gums, and slaves*; Arabia her spices, with the manufactories of

* "The condition of a slave in Egypt," says Sir Robert Wilson, from whose *History of the British Expedition* some of the above particulars are derived, "is very different from the miserable fate of those transported into the American colonies. The misery of the Nubian terminates the moment he becomes the property of a master. As a domestic he is even more favoured than any other, and with the

Persia and India. Approached so nearly to Europe, Egypt must be considered as the natural emporium for the riches of three quarters of the world, and, in her own soil, could rival America in any of her productions.

Water is to be found almost everywhere throughout, on digging; and wells are already established at the different parts of the road, which supplied seven thousand souls, with nearly as many camels and oxen, in a very short interval of time. If then industry, encouraged by the temptation of gain, were applied, what difficulty could there be in transporting merchandise from Cossir to Cunei? Nor is this so very impracticable, when we consider that Russia carries on a trade equal to 800,000*l.* sterling with China, although the capitals of the two Empires are distant from each other 6,378 miles, and a desert of 400 miles lies between them.

Cossir would be a better station than Suez to form the *dépôt*, although so much farther removed. The long continuance of contrary winds, and the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea, present many difficulties to the establishment of a large port at Suez, and the want of water there seems an insurmountable barrier, unless the ancient canal which united the Mediterranean and the Red Sea could again be restored, a work certainly not superior to the genius and powers of the nineteenth century, but which could not be attempted in the infant state of a colony.

There are no springs nearer to Suez than twelve miles, and those are called Moses' Wells, from the probable supposition that he allowed the Children of Israel to refresh themselves at them. Water is brought from hence and

Mamelukes rises to dignity, as his qualifications entitle him. The females are admitted into the houses, as servants to the favourite women, where they are treated with every kindness, and where the whip never lacerates at the irritation of petulance and capricious humour. Thus even Turks may teach Europeans humanity!"

deposited in tanks, which the inhabitants supply themselves from only in times of great necessity.

The town of Suez itself is of no importance; a wall, built by the French, against the Arabs, with two batteries towards the sea, and a two-gun battery, on a hill of ruins, about three hundred yards from the Cairo gate, are the only defences.

In a military point of view Egypt is of vast importance. The Ottoman Empire totters, and India must be terror-struck if France should be ever allowed the possession.

Whenever she then directed herself against the former power, thousands would embrace her cause. Infatuated Turks would league themselves with Greeks, as they did at Smyrna, when Buonaparté was expected, and where he would have arrived, if the extraordinary defence of Acre had not defeated his enterprise. The islands disaffected, and too severely oppressed, would with pleasure hoist the standard of revolt; and the Turkish Government, without the possibility of an effort, must be reduced to the necessity of accepting the severest conditions of the conqueror; for on his mercy their lives, as well as political existence, would depend.

England, when she undertook the expedition against Egypt, disclaimed the intention of appropriating the conquest to her possessions: and in this she not only acted with honour but with policy. A thirst for universal dominion leads to ultimate ruin; the enormous machine either falls from its own unwieldy bulk, or crumbles away, by silent mouldering, from inactivity and torpor. England, as the heart and centre of her possessions, will assuredly weaken herself in proportion as she extends her surface: the life-blood that animates a small body is deprived of its vitality when attempting to give nourishment to a larger. Our colonial possessions are already extensive, and though the advantages of some are evident, yet it may be doubted whether they are not, in their present state, partly prejudicial to the parent state. The

advantages that might accrue from the possession of Egypt are as precarious as uncertain; and much money, and many lives might be exhausted to further a project, which, if completed, would produce no solid advantages to the country.

That the Turks are now to be considered as the absolute possessors of Egypt is scarcely disputable; the events which have recently taken place there form a new epoch in history.

The Porte had seen with jealousy the re-establishment of the Mamluke government, although the Ottoman faith had been pledged to the re-instatement of their sovereignty in every right and dignity. The Turks, from a recollection of the rebellious system of the Mamelukes, who had long endeavoured to throw off even the yoke of nominal dependence, altogether refusing the stipulated tributes, now wished to secure an undivided government, and by one effort remove these usurpers: a policy, which, under any other circumstances, would have been sanctioned by justice as well as prudence.

Refused in Upper Egypt, the Mamelukes may carry on a petty predatory warfare against the Turks, but the inferiority of their numbers will not allow the supposition of an eventual success. Nor should Europe lament their fall: the government of the Mamelukes was unnatural and oppressive; their habits and customs degrading to manhood. The Turks certainly are a barbarous people, nor will Egypt gain any immediate advantage by the change: she must continue to be the wretched victim of avaricious invaders.

The defence of Egypt, must, therefore, be considered as committed to the Turks, and the inquiry instituted, as to the best means which may be devised to render them capable of resisting a French invasion.

Alexandria must always be considered as the key to Egypt, although insulated by water and desert from the

cultivated country; since in that harbour alone security can be found for shipping, of any burthen, throughout the year.

It has already been observed, that Lower Egypt is practicable for military operations six or seven months in the year, from the latter end of February till the middle of August. Sometimes a passage is not open before the beginning of March. This time might prove advantageous to an enemy wishing to establish himself on the coast, did not the tempestuous weather at that season form a good defence. If not in possession of Alexandria, no force could proceed by the Desert to Cairo; a march which, in that case, presents obstacles scarcely to be surmounted; as, during three months of the inundation, no communication could be had with the villages on its borders, and afterwards sufficient subsistence could not be procured in them.

Protected thus by natural defences, and strengthened by the cautions of art, Egypt would not be an easy conquest, or the prospect of an attack require light consideration by those who were to be responsible for the success. The Turks are better adapted to defend the country than the Mamelukes.

The hostility of the Turks to France offers a favourable moment for the completion of designs necessary to the interests of England and Turkey, who ought to form an inseparable alliance; nor could such measures be deemed otherwise than precautions of self-defence, even by those whose views were impeded by them. The friendship of Turkey is of such importance to England, that every exertion should be made, and some sacrifices even not resisted, if they tend to prevent France from resuming her influence in the Divan.

We must all lament that a country like Egypt, rich in treasures, of fertility, and commerce, from the civilization of which, the sciences might derive the most important

benefits, must, under the present posture of affairs, be retained in slavery; but those who would be doomed otherwise to form the colony, may find consolation in the reflection, that their lives in that country would certainly have been wretched, from the misery which pervades, and the diseases which desolate this land, otherwise so bountifully distinguished by nature.

THE END OF CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INHABITANTS OF EGYPT, THEIR MANNERS
AND CUSTOMS.

Population of Egypt....The Bedouin Arabs....Pillaging, a common Vice among them....Their Opinion as to their hereditary Right over Egypt....Singular Confederacies among them....The Fellahs....Their Manners and Customs....The Mukhtsims....The Population of the Cities a Mixture of various different Classes....Religious Sects... Their Fakirs....Brief Sketch of the Power and Nature of the Mamelukes....The peculiar Situation of Slaves in Egypt, who often become Beys, and sometimes Sovereigns of Egypt....Revenues of these People....General Retrospect of their political and moral State.

THE population of Egypt is composed of various nations and conditions of people, who, having features in common, are, nevertheless, distinguished by their mode of life, manners, and political and religious codes. Islamism, which is the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, excludes the followers of every other worship from all political influence. Although tolerated by the law, these latter are reduced to a very abject state, and are incessantly exposed to the insults of the haughty Mussulman.

In Egypt may be discovered traces of the feudal system, which appears inherent to the first degrees of civilization.

These shades of character will be the more apparent, if we separately examine the inhabitants of the Desert, of the country, and the cities.

The Bedouin Arab wandering in the Desert, feeding his herds, and living on their milk, gives us, at this very day, a picture of the lives of the ancient patriarchs; their man-

ners, customs, and mode of life are the same. The country they inhabit, permitting of no other, they could not change. If certain authors had lived among these people, if they had studied men formed for this pastoral life, they would have spared themselves much declamation.

The Arab has a great veneration for old people; very extensive are the limits which paternal authority has among them. The children remain under the dominion of the head of the family. When that becomes numerous, after many generations, it forms a tribe, of which the descendants of the first patriarch are the hereditary chiefs. Vested with the powers of government they become powerful and wealthy: they assume to be of a superior class, and usurp a species of feudal authority over the rest of the tribe.

The Sheiks represent the father of the family, and decide the differences of their children; but the more the family or tribe is extended the less are the sentences of the Sheik respected. Quarrels arise; and man in this state, when he thinks himself injured, has recourse to his personal strength.

There is no principle among the Arabs to unite the individuals and tribes in one general society. Their religion, which, as a common principle, ought to be a mean of union, produced that effect only during the fanatical impulse given by Mahomet to his followers, and continued, under his immediate successors, by a series of astonishing conquests, which conquests afterwards changed the manners of these people. Each tribe has its religious chief, who, in matters concerning the tribe, too important to be referred to the Sheik, decides according to the principles of the Koran. But these ministers of religion do not possess an influence powerful enough to suppress dissensions between tribes.

Quarrels among the Arabs are inveterate. Hereditary animosities occasion combats, mutual ravages, and assas-

unions eternally reviving, since blood must be answered with blood. Local circumstances, common interests, and like hatreds, sometimes unite, for a time, different tribes and families under one head; but the conclusion of the war that brings them together, and the division of spoils, break these temporary ties, no longer of force when the same dangers no longer press on the members of which the union was formed.

Enamoured of their independence, the Arabs despise the husbandman and the inhabitants of cities. They have a degree of fierceness of character, but not unmingled with elevated sentiments. It is even a question still to be resolved, if the dissimulation and treachery with which they are reproached, particularly in their individual and political relations with more civilized people, spring from their own manners, or result from their experience of the bad faith of civilized nations.

The qualities the Arabs hold in the highest estimation are frankness and courage. One of the greatest eulogiums they can give a man, is to say of him—that *he has but one tongue*. They have been but little accustomed to find that quality among the masters of Egypt.

No title is so noble in the eyes of these people as that of Father. As soon as an Arab has a son he changes his name for one which expresses that he is *father of this son*. That which the Arabs most desire is the increase of their family and tribe, because their power and influence increase in the same proportion. It is according to the number of children their wives bear that they honour them. Reduced to household cares and to tending their herds, the women have seldom any public influence. There are, however, examples of women who, from their reputation and talents, have succeeded their husbands in the office of Sheik.

To pillage is a passion inseparable from the Arabs. Their spoils are divided among the families by established regulations. Is this spirit of plunder inherent to their

degree of civilization? is it the result of wars they make upon one another? or is it engendered by the jealousy which they bear towards the more civilized people, who inhabit the cultivated lands? These questions cannot easily be decided. The Arabs justify themselves by maintaining that pillage is a right of conquest: they regard what they seize as military trophies, and consider themselves in a state of eternal warfare with all who are not of their nation.

The Arabs consider themselves as masters of Egypt by right of conquest: the various tribes have divided among themselves the entire country, by provinces and jurisdictions, in which they respectively govern and have their particular territories. They regard the Fellahs as vassals whose duty it is to cultivate the lands necessary to the subsistence of the Arabs, and pay a tribute for what they cultivate on their own account; while they, on their part, protect the cultivators by their arms against hostile tribes. They preserve all the pride of the conquering Arabs; treat with the government of Egypt as one sovereign with another; and deem it unworthy of their grandeur to pay a fixed tribute, purchasing their tranquillity by presents consecrated by custom, and consisting chiefly of horses and camels, but very rarely of money: they retreat into the Desert rather than submit entirely. Dreaded by the cultivators, and setting the government at defiance, in their rapid flights and rapid return, they equally compel the Fellahs to purchase their protection.

The title of Arab Sheik is highly venerated in Egypt. As soon as the Sheik of a village is sufficiently rich to maintain an establishment and a certain number of cavalry, he procures himself a genealogy which traces his descent from some Arab family, and takes the title of Sheik of Arab. If the quarrels and inveterate animosity of the Arab tribes did not prevent their union, the Sheiks could assemble forty thousand horse, and would be masters

of Egypt: but their dissensions protect the country from their domination.

The Arab families who inhabit the villages, particularly the Aonarah, in Upper Egypt, appear to be descended from the conquerors of Egypt, under the successors of Mahomet: the establishment of other tribes is more modern. It is not easy to discover the epoch of their arrival, nor that of the distinction of their provinces. The old men of the tribes dwelling near the cultivated lands ascribe their emigration to the 11th or 12th century. From the earliest times the Nile has attracted the inhabitants of the Desert to its banks. On the side of Charkich dwell the tribes that came from Arabia. The tribes from Barbary proceeded no further than Bahireh, which lies to the West of the Nile: these are more warlike and better armed than the former.

Beside alliances among tribes, there exists among the Arabs numerous confederacies or leagues, of which powerful Sheiks are the leaders. Every tribe and every family belongs to one of these confederacies, and those who are of the same party reciprocally aid each other in war. When a quarrel arises between two tribes of the same league, that which is deserted by the other members of the league, for the time, joins the opposite party.

Writers have not been able to trace the origin of these confederacies; they are very ancient and exist among all the nations of Arabs. In Lower Egypt one of these leagues is named *Sath* and the other *Haran*: in Syria their names are *Kiech* and *Yemani*. The families of Fellahs and the villages are attached to one or other of these leagues. The Beys, when they are divided into two great parties, strengthen themselves in their dissensions by an alliance with one or other of them. When the French army arrived in Egypt Ibrahim Bey was of the league called *Sath*, and Murad Bey of that called *Haran*. In general the *Sath* league was attached to the governor of Cairo.

The Arabs may be said to form a frame in which the population of Egypt is inclosed: they constitute an empire within an empire.

The Fellahs, or cultivators of Egypt, have a great resemblance in character to the Arabs, and are, probably, descended from a mixture of the first irruption of Arabs with the ancient inhabitants. They preserve the same distinction of families, and those that live together in a village form a species of tribe. The animosities between families or villages are as strong as those among the Arabs; but the extreme dependance of the Fellahs has robbed them of the lofty and independent temper of the Arab. The Fellahs vegetate under a feudal power, the more rigorous because it is derided; and because their oppressors form part of the government, which ought to protect them. But, with all the disadvantages of their situation, they endeavour incessantly to imitate the independence of the Arabs, and are proud of calling them ancestors.

The Fellahs are bound by families to the lands they cultivate; their labour is the property of the *Mukhtesims*, or lords of villages, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Although the Fellahs cannot be sold their condition is more wretched than absolute slavery: they, indeed, possess and transmit to their children the land allotted to their families; but they cannot alienate them, and scarcely can let any part without the permission of their lord. If, wearied out with oppression, a Fellah quits his village, the *Mukhtesim* has the right to pursue and arrest him. The hospitality practised by the Fellahs, in common with the Arabs, opens an asylum to the fugitives in other villages, where they hire themselves as labourers, and remain in safety, if the proprietor is not sufficiently powerful to wrest them from the place. They are also received and sheltered among the Arabs.

The Fellahs who remain in a village partially deserted by the cultivators are more unfortunate than the fugi-

tives: they are compelled to support all the labour and pay all the dues of the fugitives; and often, reduced to despair, they entirely abandon the village, and engage themselves as domestics of the Arabs of the Desert, if they can find no other secure refuge. Many villages are to be seen wholly deserted, and the lands belonging to them uncultivated; the inhabitants taking this method to punish the excessive avidity of their lords.

The *Mukhtesims*, or proprietors of villages, may be compared to the feudal lords of Europe: they receive the greater part of the produce of the lands, which they afterwards divide into unequal proportions: the smaller, which bears the name of *Miri*, is the territorial impost due to the Grand Seignor; and the larger, known by the name of *Fazo*, of *Barani*, &c. they reserve to themselves. Besides these rights, the *Mukhtesim*, like the feudal lord, has the immediate property of land, called *Osipich*, which the Fellahs are compelled to cultivate *without* hire, in the manner of our ancient feudal duties.

The population of the cities is a mixture of various classes, extremely different in their origin, manners, and religion. The principal of these are the artisans and merchants, (both of which classes are of various countries and worship;) the proprietors of estates who live on their revenues; the religious chiefs, and the principal military officers of the government.

The inhabitants of the great cities do not belong, like the Fellahs, to proprietors: they hold their houses, gardens, &c. independant of any lord, and possess the right of selling them. The great cities, few in number, are, Cairo, Damietta, Rosetta, and Alexandria. Tenta is nearly in the same political situation with these cities; but that is a privilege which it derives from its being a territory appertaining to a mosque. Other cities are free from the services due to a proprietor; but their revenues are attached to the governors of provinces.

The distinction of families also prevails in the cities,

The exercise of arts and trades is hereditary; the son imitating his father, and never improving upon his knowledge. If various families of the same religion exercise the same trade they form a corporation, which chooses for its head the person among the old men who possesses the greatest wealth and consideration.

Every religion or sect has its distinct quarter, and its chief. When, among the followers of a sect, there are many families who exercise different occupations, it has more than one chief. The Copts form the most numerous class of Christians in Egypt. The greater part of them live in the cities, where they are principally employed in the receipt of the taxes, and in managing the particular estates of the chiefs of the country. The only persons of a little learning, and versed in this species of employment, they had rendered themselves necessary. Several of the Copts exercise the trades of masons, carpenters, &c. in the towns. Others inhabit the villages, especially in Upper Egypt, and cultivate the lands, being little distinguished from the other Fellahs. The Christians of Syria, established in Egypt trade with their own country, and undertake various financial operations. The Greeks, the greater part of whom carry on a commerce with their own country, exercise also several arts, and furnish sailors. The Jews are generally *scrap*, or money-changers; some of them dealers in old clothes, and locksmiths. The prejudices which prevail against these people produce the same effect in every country.

The European merchants established in Egypt are all comprised under the general denomination of Franks: they have their particular quarter in Cairo, and enjoy some privileges, although harrassed with a multitude of exactions.

The merchants and artisans, of whatever worship, are not much more happy in their condition than the Fellahs; they are borne down by a tyrannical and destructive go-

vernment. A great part of their gain is swallowed up by imposts, multiplied in various forms; and arbitrary exactions reduce them to poverty as soon as they appear to be in easy circumstances.

Every class of inhabitants is permitted to enter the career of priesthood. The first part of their education is confined to the learning and reciting a few prayers and passages of the Koran, and afterwards to read and write. Those whose views are more extensive, perfect themselves in reading and writing, and study the commentaries of the Koran, written by the sect they have embraced: this includes all the science necessary to be admitted to the priesthood. The greater part of the Imans, and assistant priests of the mosques, have made no further progress, Submission to the higher priests, religious practices, the art of imposing on the multitude by exterior forms, and the affectation of a language abounding in maxims, prepare their way to the highest employments. The principal chiefs of religion, called in Egypt Sheiks of the Law, are characterized by the policy common to the priests of every country; who, the more easily to govern, endeavour by artifices to gain the ascendancy over men. Their conversation abounds with fine moral sentences, and grand poetic images, borrowed from the Arabian writers; in this consists their whole knowledge. It is in vain to seek among them any acquaintance with political or any other science; they as little suspect the existence of such as their utility.

Under the humble title of fakir, (poor) and distributors of alms, they enjoy large revenues, dedicated to the maintenance of mosques and other pious foundations. These revenues consist of villages and lands given by the sovereigns of Egypt, or individuals, and of certain duties upon consumption. They have been augmented by another cause. Persons of property, fearing that the government, after their death, would seize upon the suc-

cession, to secure it to their children, give it to mosques, with the reserve of rents payable to their posterity; these foundations are named *Risaks*.

The religious Sheiks possess a great moral influence over the people; and the most despotic governors of provinces are compelled to pay homage to them. Mahomet impressed on his people the opinion that the Koran contained all precepts, religious and social. The interpreters and commentators on that book became the chiefs of sects, have transmitted their opinions to their successors; and the same studies led at once to the offices of jurisprudence and religion. The same individuals pass from one to the other; and sometimes fill offices of both kinds together; both have the title of *Uchma*.

The body of Mamelukes, whose organization is totally different from the institutions of Europe, has been faithfully delineated by Volney; and part of their revolutions has been developed by the same author. We shall give our readers a general idea of the character of this extraordinary body.

It is a most singular phenomenon to see, in the neighbourhood of the Arabs, fiercely attached to the distinction or ranks transmitted by their ancestors, a numerous class, who venerate only the purchased slave, whose parents are unknown, and, who, from slavery is raised to the highest dignities. This sentiment prevails also throughout Turkey; and even at Constantinople, in the heart of the government, whose principle it is to preserve the race of Osman, and where there are families of great antiquity, and very high consideration.

In a military and feudal government the custom of forming slaves to fill the highest employments could alone ward off the dangers naturally resulting from the aggrandisement of the principal families. While Europe lay under the feudal yoke, the proprietors of great fiefs contended for authority with their sovereigns, and anarchy prevailed in almost every state. The custom of govern-

ing by slaves has probably prolonged the race of Osman. Slaves, elevated to the government of provinces, have rarely had a posterity which could follow their example, and maintain their new rank; and, after the death of the usurper, the province returned naturally into the old order of things. No great family could raise itself to a consistency of power to dispute the government with the reigning family, or even to occasion a division of the empire. Egypt is the only province, which, from its distance from the centre of government, and its political organization, has formed an exception. The Ottoman government has shown more wisdom in its maxims than the chiefs of Egypt; for, while the sovereign employed slaves, he foresaw the danger of being surrounded with an armed body, always eager for power, disposed to seize it by violence, and ready tools in the hands of the ambitious.

Mamelukes, whom the Fatimite Caliphs had bought to form their guard, in the end seized on the government. The chiefs of these Mamelukes transmitted their power to their children; but the descendants of Sa-lak-ed-din, declining into voluptuousness and effeminaey, increased their guards like the caliphs, and in like manner were desposed. The Mamelukes then no longer continued to have hereditary chiefs; violence or choice decided who should take the government. The death of the ruling Mameluke was followed by new troubles, till the contending parties agreed upon a chief, or divided the country among them.

Selim II. seized upon one of those moments of dissension to attack the Mamelukes, allying himself to one of the parties, which he permitted to share in the power of the government. They not only constituted a member of the permanent military force, but shared in the exercise of the civil power. Beys, chosen among them jointly, by the chiefs of Copts of the Pacha, were charged with the police of provinces, admitted into the divan; and became a balance to the authority of the Pacha.

The great officers of government, ambitious to augment their power, bought Mamelukes. Ibrahim Kiaya, master of the largest number of Mamelukes, and attaching to his person and interest the proprietors of others, aggrandized himself by their means, and ruled Egypt. After his death, the several beys to whom he had entrusted authority attempted to continue it; but Aly Bey, superior in talents and character to the rest, gained the ascendancy, and became master of Egypt. The Porte indeed re-established a pacha, but the Mamelukes, accustomed to govern Egypt, left him only the ensigns of authority.

All the Mamelukes bought by a chief, and even by any of his freed men, are regarded as part of his family, and give him the name of Father; this forms the great feature of the institution of the Mamelukes. He, who, gaining ascendancy among them, preserves it long enough to purchase a number of slaves, and, successively, to aggrandize them also, becomes the chief of a new house. The freedmen, and slaves of the same master, consider each other as brothers; but, on the death of their master, those of the greatest authority are often divided by their personal interests. The favour they have enjoyed during their master's life, determines the quantity of their wealth and power. When one has acquired the principal influence, such of his brethren as are unable to dispute the authority with him acknowledge him for chief. When several are equal in force at the death of their master, they make war with each other, till one overpowers the rest, or they consent to a division of authority among them.

All the present Mamelukes are of the house of Ibrahim Kiaya. Ali Bey, and Mahammed Bey Abondahab, long contended for authority, and enjoyed it successively. The house of Ali Bey exists still in the Mamelukes of Hassan Bey, and of Osman Bey Hassan, who, on the arrival of the French in Egypt, were refugees in Jair. Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey, who were the principal

slaves of Mahammed Bey Abondahab, concluded their long quarrels by agreeing to govern Egypt between them; since which they have formed two new houses.

Turkish merchants carry slaves from Constantinople to Egypt; they are selected from six to seventeen years of age. Purchased by the Beys, the Miachess, or the Mukhtesims, during their childhood they are employed in the various services of their master's establishment, but their education is entirely military: it is this which gives them the address, the strength, the ductility of limbs by which they are distinguished in athletic exercises, horsemanship, and the use of arms. When they are sufficiently strong and practised in arms, they are removed into the master's cavalry; and, being employed in expeditions, according as they happen to inspire his affections, are removed into the troops more immediately about his person.

When, as a recompense for services, a master gives freedom to a slave, the freed man quits his house, receives lands from him, and sometimes one of his slaves in marriage. He then acquires the right of purchasing the Mamelukes, and is no longer employed in the services of his patron's household, but is always ready to obey him, and follow him to war. Permission to let their beard grow is the exterior sign of liberty.

Although the number of Kiachefs is fixed, and they ought to be chosen by the body of Beys, subject to the confirmation of the Pacha, the powerful Beys raise their dependants to this rank, and compel the other Beys to acknowledge them for Kiachefs. The twenty-four Beys were formerly chosen among the Kiachefs, who, on the decease of a Bey, presented one of their number for the vacancy to the Pacha, whose office it was to confirm him. This had, latterly, degenerated into a mere form, and the chiefs of the most powerful house appointed Beys from his family: Murad and Ibrahim, when they divided the government, agreed to have an equal number of Beys.

A great career is therefore always open to the ambition of the Mamelukes. From slaves, they become Beys, chiefs of houses, and even sovereigns of Egypt. Their means of promotion are attachment, zeal, and obedience, strength, and address in military exercises, and bravery in arms; by these they obtain the favour of their masters, wealth and liberty. Raised to the rank of Kiachefs, it is open to them to obtain the government of provinces, or to head expeditions, in which they usually compel the Fellahs and Arabs to serve them: thenceforth they accumulate wealth to purchase and maintain a number of slaves. The consideration they hence obtain, the fear they inspire by an imposing military force and riches, lead them forward to the greatest employments.

Besides the Mamelukes, who never serve on foot, the Beys and the government have an establishment of infantry. Steady to the Turkish policy of rarely giving any military authority to the natives of the country, these soldiers, few in number, were men from Albania and the West of Barbary; they were employed, under the orders of the Mamelukes, to guard the cities, and maintain the police of the villages of the Beys, by whom they were kept in pay.

The Pacha sent from Constantinople was, in name, the head of the government of Egypt; but the Beys, in possession of all authority, left him no more than the insigns of dignity. I shall not, therefore, enter into any observations respecting this officer, nor of the officers and effendis sent by the Porte to control accounts, which the Beys uniformly compelled them to settle in such a manner, that there was no tribute to send to Constantinople.

The revenues of the Mamelukes, were composed of such as were their own particular property, and those of the government.

Their particular revenues were such of the villages as belonged to the Beys, Kiachefs, and Mamelukes, as

Mukhtesims; the various duties they received in their governments, and their arbitrary fines, forced presents, and other extortions. The Copts have always had the address to render themselves necessary to the proprietors. Every Mukhtesim employed one for each village, who kept the rolls of contributions, and received them in his name. When a Bey was proprietor of several villages, he placed a Copt at the head of all the others, who was at once his steward and secretary; and this Copt indemnified himself in his sabalterns and the Fellahs for the humiliations he was condemned to endure from his employer.

If the Mamelukes leave few children, it is not the same with the other inhabitants of Egypt, particularly the Fellahs; although few of them are rich enough to avail themselves of the law authorising polygamy, and the women do not live long, the Fellahs all have a number of children: without this fecundity the plague would almost destroy the population of Egypt.

Having no documents of the population of the lands and villages it is difficult to give a tolerable estimate of it: the whole population of Egypt, may, however, be stated at two millions five hundred thousand, or, at the most, three millions; including the city of Cairo, which contains from two hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand inhabitants.

From the Bedouin Arab to the principal officers of government, power and riches are the only roads to authority, and, therefore, the only objects of ambition. All are indifferent to the means of acquiring wealth: every one is eager to attach to his person men devoted to his interest, whose courage and address he may employ to his advantage. The Beys and Mukhtesims purchase white slaves and sometimes black, the Arabs negro slaves: each assembles around him a little army, more or less formidable, and, when he thinks himself strong enough, makes war on his rivals or oppressors. When there does

not exist in the government a power capable of overawing these various and jealous forces, anarchy has the sole sway, and the spirit of faction and hereditary hatreds ally themselves to the subjects of quarrels, which arise daily.

The cultivator is almost always pressed into these quarrels; he has also quarrels that are proper to himself: but, in whatever manner either one or the other ends, the produce of his harvest serves always to support the combatants: he must provide for the profusion of the chiefs, to augment their power, which recoils on himself: and, in every case, he is only the miserable instrument of their enjoyments. Regulated in his conduct rather by the caprices of powerful men than by acknowledged laws, he is ever uncertain whom to obey, the government of Constantinople, the Beys, the Mukhtesims or the Arab Sheiks. Obligated to pacify them all, he executes the orders of him whose vengeance he at that moment dreads; and hence arises the custom of every year taking the field to enforce the contributions. Moral qualities and information led to no office in Egypt; procuring but a very slight consideration and no riches, there is little that invites to their cultivation. The whole study in Egypt is that of dissimulation, the natural arm of the ambitious when they are weak: to dissemble is equally the fate of all classes of the people, and the basis of government.

Vague laws, the venality of the judges, the absence of a force destined to pursue and punish the guilty, the asylums ever kept open by hospitality, induce the government to punish a family, a corporation, a village, for the crime of one man, often a fugitive, but oftener unknown. The government adopts the custom of the Arabs, to extend vengeance from an individual to entire families. The territory of whole tribes is over-run to extort a compensation for robberies committed within their boundaries. Under a feudal government, the habits of punishing an entire class for the crimes of an individual, has at least,

however, the advantage to interest individuals to watch over each others conduct. The asylums of hospitality form a resource to all the inhabitants against oppression. It is not from a spirit of order and justice that the government, little susceptible of these moral sentiments, pursues the guilty or endeavours to terminate quarrels; it is, that the cultivation of lands, the harvests, and the receipt of contributions suffer from these quarrels, and that accommodations are always paid for with presents and compensations.

THE END OF CHAP. XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

Resumption of the Egyptian Affairs....Treaty of El Arisch, and its Rupture....Character of Menou, and his Attempts to blacken the Memory of Kleber....The magnanimous Conduct of Kleber with regard to Buonaparté....The Proceedings of Menou give general Disgust....His Character....His unjust Removal of General Dumas....Menou endeavours to form a Party, but failing, he seeks to become popular....Squanders the Money in idle Expenses....Remarks upon this Subject....Sources of the French Revenue in Egypt.

OUR readers will recollect where we left off in our history of the affairs of Egypt; nor will they forget the resentment and petulant reproaches made towards us by the French, in consequence of the non-ratification of the treaty of El Arisch. This was an event, the justice or injustice of which remains, and probably must remain, a mystery. One thing, however, may be said in its justification; the instructions which were sent out to Lord Keith were dated December 1799: the treaty of El Arisch was signed January 28, 1800. The English ministry cannot, therefore, be accused of prevarication in the first instance: Lord Keith acted according to his orders, and Kleber, considering the intimation of Lord Keith as decisive, prepared immediately for the renewal of hostilities. It will not, however, be easy to vindicate the faith of the ministry in their subsequent conduct; the treaty being signed they were bound to ratify it, and not resort to the poor subterfuge that Sir Sidney Smith had no official powers to conclude it. This was an artifice unworthy the English nation, and, as such, justly reprobated by the French and the whole contingent.

The first consequence of this rupture was the victory of Heliopolis, which has already been detailed in the Fourth Volume, as well as the assassination of the brave Kleber. It now, therefore, remains to take a rapid view of the affairs of the French under the command of Menou till the appearance of the English on the coast of Egypt.

There was nothing which excited more general indignation in the French army than the dastardly attempts which were made by Menou to tarnish and degrade the glory of Kleber, Kleber was adored by the soldiery, more even than Buonaparté: they had not forgotten his magnanimous conduct with regard to the latter, when he left him to conduct the perilous war to a conclusion, without money, or any resources necessary to an army in a foreign country. Kleber had the glory of France at his heart, and he loved the service he was engaged in too well to risk its disgrace by damping the spirits of his men: he became, therefore, voluntarily, the apologist of Buonaparté, and hushed the indignant feelings of his own breast that he might not awaken those of his army. This was a noble trait of character, which reflects an enviable lustre on his name; it was not forgotten by the French; and they execrated the meanness of Menou, who strove, by a thousand dirty acts, to cast a shade of opprobrium upon the much loved memory of the man he had succeeded. How unlike the nobleness of a great mind! When Julius Cæsar beheld the head of Pompey, his rival for dominion, he wept; a homage that dignified at once the giver and receiver.

General Menou, in fact, rendered himself equally unpopular to the men and to the generals. His conduct was often tyrannical and capricious; and this disgusted those officers who felt themselves his equal in military science. It is a dangerous thing when a commander-in-chief alienates the affections of his generals the soldiery may be disgusted with their head, yet allegiance to their immediate commanders will keep them faithful; but when

these are disaffected, there is then no bond subsisting to check the most alarming dissensions. One of those arbitrary measures which Menou indulged in, was, the displacing General Dumas from his station, and this was done without the least reason being assigned for it. General Dumas was astonished: he wrote to Menou expressing his total ignorance of what cause he could have for a step so strange and unprecedented; he urged also, that it was incumbent on Menou to wait for dispatches from his government, unless he had charges against him weighty enough to authorise a court martial. To this remonstrance he received no answer, and Menou even refused to see him.

General Reynier, and General Friant, justly apprehensive that such a step might produce the most alarming consequences in their present critical situation, waited upon Menou, to discourse with him upon the business. Nothing, however, was to be done; and if any thing could aggravate the baseness of the transaction, it was the reasons which Menou chose to assign for it: *he felt an incompatibility in their dispositions; he could not transact business with General Dumas; he protested, on his honour, that no personal animosity influenced his conduct.* This was surely adding insult to oppression: this was the excuse of a child, who throws away a toy because he is tired of it. What security is there for the very existence of an army, if its chief wantonly displace meritorious officers from "incompatibility of temper?" How like a prating gentlewoman is such jargon!

Reynier, however, forbore to press the matter further, because Menou, very cavalierly, offered to resign his command. He seemed, indeed, to sport not only with the feelings of individuals, but, likewise, with the safety of the whole army, placing their entire welfare and the success of their arms as mere foils, to his own wanton caprices. Reynier had always, from delicacy, foreborne

to represent to Menou that, commanding the army only *ad interim*, (for his authority had not yet been sanctioned by the French government,) it ill became him to make a change of such magnitude, unless in a case of the most urgent necessity. He begged, however, that he would explain himself to Dumas, and to make up the breach possible, either by continuing him in his station or removing him to some other suitable command. Dumas, who was far from wishing to create embarrassment or dissension, retired from the station of chief of the staff and accepted the command of the provinces of Benisou and Fayoum: the order of the day announced his retreat and contained eulogiums of his conduct. His success was General Le Grange; but Menou only appeared to repose confidence in him, for he transacted himself even the minutest duties of the station.

It now became daily more evident that Menou purposed to form a party; but in this he failed; and finding, that although the most perfect discipline prevailed in the army, the greater part of the officers and corps were dissatisfied with him, he resolved to make himself popular. Accordingly, on the 23rd September, he made six new generals of brigade and filled up all the vacancies in the army. Some of the officers, preferring to remain with their own corps rather than be advanced, refused the promotion; but they were compelled to accept their new rank. It was evident that in doing this Menou was actuated by political finesse; for though the persons whom he advanced were men that deserved that reward for eminent services; yet Menou was less anxious, in reality, to remunerate talent than to crush envy: he whispered to himself, that by bestowing favours he should, in effect, destroy any lurking-enmity towards himself; or, at least, should those very persons whom he had thus distinguished prove afterwards in any way obnoxious to his views, it would be no difficult matter to fix the popular odium on them, as ungrateful beings, who repaid kindness

treachery. He well knew the readiness with which the human feelings rise up against ingratitude; and, therefore, by loading those whom he suspected with benefits, he, at least, rendered them, if not active friends, negative enemies. There were, indeed, no arts of dissimulation to which this man did not descend: he even employed spies in the army, tale-bearers, to fetch and carry petty conversations for their master! What stronger proof need be adduced of insincerity of conduct, of inward condemnation and irresolute feelings, than this? How unlike the great man who had led the French army to the shores of Egypt! how unlike the generous, manly Kleber!

The same self-determination, which invariably characterized all the actions of General Menou, was equally conspicuous in his civil administration: it had, indeed, a worthier object—the *comforts* of the army, and it was conducted with the most perfect self-disinterestedness; still, however, it was impolitic to waste the resources on temporary, and often needless objects. The finances, to an invading army, especially to an army situated like the French, at an immense distance from their country, with no means of conveying supplies over land, and the passage by sea exposed to imminent, and almost certain dangers, from the vast superiority of our navy; the finances to such an army were of the utmost and most serious importance, and any thing like a heedless squandering of them was criminal. To rely upon forced contributions in a hostile country was precarious in the extreme: and money, which is, in modern times, the sinews of war, should have been husbanded, as of precious moment: this, however, Menou did not do to the extent he ought; and hence flowed another source of embarrassment and difficulty to the army.

At the time of Kleber's assassination part of the contribution in money, imposed upon the inhabitants of Cairo, and the whole of the contributions in merchandise, remained unpaid; these were, however, afterwards col-

lected by Menou, together with part of the ordinary territorial imposts. The pay of the troops was ordered to be discharged regularly and without deduction, and the greater part of the arrears paid up; funds were assigned for the fortifications, and the engineers of the bridges and highways received *more* than was sufficient to continue the demolitions necessary to the defence of Cairo and to add some embellishments to the town. Grants, bounties, an augmentation of indemnity for rations, various useless expenses, and the immense number of French and Turks employed in the various provinces of the administration, the consequence of a system too much complicated, by degrees raised the expenditure of the army to seventeen or eighteen hundred thousand francs per month; although every change was announced as intending to reduce the expenses of Kleber's administration, which did not exceed thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand francs! This is another instance of the determined hostility with which Menou pursued the memory of Kleber.

Very large receipts, the produce of the new duties, were announced in the orders of the day, in which General Menou also incessantly repeated his engagement to maintain the full payment of the troops; yet, in about three months, all the funds were expended! The duties on merchandise, as yet, produced little; the territorial imposts could not be collected till after the inundation in a short time money was wanting. The Copts were ordered to furnish a forced loan, for which, at first, they were promised a mortgage on the contributions in arrears; and that security would have produced more if it had been put in effect. The first money gone, new wants succeeded; and the Copts furnished a second loan. It might be prudent, no doubt, to make them regorge part of their plunder: but General Kleber regarded the Copts as a reserve for moments of great embarrassment; and, in effect, during the siege of Cairo, he procured from them all the money he wanted.

The reports of Citizen Esteve, and other persons charged with the direction of the various branches of the administration, points out with precision the revenues which the French army might have drawn from Egypt in time of war.

The territorial impost, after Murad Bey occupied Said, could not be taken higher than twelve millions, including the impolitic imposts on the Sheiks, which the French were afterwards compelled to receive as advances on account of the ordinary imposts	12,000,000
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Francs

The various indirect duties were farmed at about three millions; but the farmers sustaining losses, it would be necessary to grant them a reduction, at least till commerce should revive	3,000,000
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The duties on corporations and national bodies were fixed, by an ordinance, at two millions, but ought to be reduced: by means, however, of various vexations, these duties might produce	2,000,000
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The mint of Cairo, and the duties for stamping gold and silver articles produced, at the most	500,000
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The customs might produce, in time of war, if the commerce with Arabia and the Greeks were encouraged, one million; peace would increase this revenue to many millions	1,000,000
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The <i>oussiehs</i> and the national domains	1,500,000
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The <i>miri</i> of the proprietors and the tribute of Murad Bey	1,000,000
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Total . . .	21,000,000
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The contributions in kind would be sufficient for the ordinary consumption of the army and to form magazines of reserve.

The sum total of the revenues of Egypt might, herefore amount to 21,000,000 francs per annum, or 1,750,000 francs per month. But the collection of these revenues depended on the internal tranquillity of the country which various causes might disturb. An attack, or even the menacing attitude of an enemy, by compelling the troops to concentrate, would entirely suspend the receipts; for

throughout the East, as well as in every hostile country, it demands a military force to collect the contributions.

It was, therefore, an essential point to govern the expenditure by the greatest œconomy; so that, if the sources of revenue suddenly failed, there might always be a reserve found for the wants of the army. But none of these considerations could check General Menou in the career of his innovations nor deter him from an augmentation of the expenditure; he easily persuaded himself, with that overweening confidence which marked his character, that nothing, foreign or internal, could disturb the tranquillity of the country.

THE END OF CHAP. XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

Necessity of a clear and lucid View of the precise State of the French in Egypt previous to the English landing there....Causes of the Successes of the British Arms allowed by our own Writers....The Innovations of General Menou....The Discontents of the Officers so high that they propose to supersede and try him,...A Number of the French Generals wait upon him with Remonstrances....He promises to attend to them....Reasons for not complying immediately....Funeral Honours rendered to General Desaix in Egypt, and the disengenuous Conduct of Menou upon that Occasion....Menou receives his Brevet of Commander-in-Chief.

IN order thoroughly to comprehend the causes of those successes which the English gained in Egypt, under multiplied disadvantages, it is necessary that we should have a correct idea of the state of the French army, its resources, and the talents and character of its chief: for though it is unanimously confessed that British valour was never more signally displayed than during that campaign, yet it is no less certain that the subsequent success arose partly from the misconduct of our enemies: our own writers on the subject allow, that had Menou acted with that effective judgment which was expected, the probability of our finally triumphing would have been highly problematical. It must be remembered, that a primary inducement with the British ministry for sending an army, and so small an army, into Egypt, was the information they had gained from the Intercepted Letters from that country; by them it appeared, that the French were in a most deplorable condition, without funds, without resources, and almost without a leader; dissensions in the army, and a want of unanimity among the generals! hence it was concluded that their entire

expulsion from Egypt would be a matter of no difficulty. But these relations were greatly exaggerated; and the English army, when they arrived there, found their antagonists in a state well calculated to dispute the point with a much larger force than was now brought against them: they were not, however, dismayed, though they could entertain but few rational hopes of ultimate success: they advanced; the enemy actually made those very dispositions which Sir Ralph Abercrombie himself would have dictated could he have influenced the decisions of Menou! Such advantages, seconded by the bravery of our troops and the judgment of their commanders, led to those happy results, which are well known and enthusiastically remembered.

To explain, therefore, the apparent inconsistencies of these events, and to advance the real dignity of meritorious services by stripping them of all false honours, we have thought it requisite to shew thus far the condition of the French army; and we shall now add a few more particulars of its operations and situation, between the assassination of Kleber and the landing of the English.

The innovations of General Menou; his conduct towards various individuals; the childish declamations, the lessons of morals and probity, so often repeated in the orders of the day, which had the appearance of being addressed to an army profligate and without honour, raised an almost universal discontent. The inhabitants, terrified with such incessant innovations, complained that *a mussulman general**, *from whom they had reason to expect so much, compelled them to regret the loss of a Christian general!* They were accustomed, under the government of the Turks and Mamelukes, to endure all the caprices of their masters, and they would willingly have endured as much from Menou; but their experience had taught them the mildness of European manners: Buona-

* This man actually embraced the Mahometan faith, and always signed himself *Abdallah J. Menou!*

parté and Kleber, the immediate predecessors of Menou, had conducted themselves in a very different manner, and won rather than alienated the affections of the people.

Some idea may be formed of the height to which the popular odium against Menou had risen, when it is remembered that many of the generals proposed to bring him to a trial, while others thought it would be right to prevail upon General Reynier to assume the command, convinced as they were that Menou was wholly unfit for it: a third party, more moderate than either, wished only that the other generals should unite to remonstrate with and advise him.

This was a proposition very generally acceded to; and the generals were preparing to wait upon him with this intention, on the 26th October, when the arrival of an officer from Toulon, with dispatches, was announced to them: this, of course, put a momentary stop to their designs; for it might be that those dispatches contained the official nomination of some other officer to the command in chief, or, perhaps, the ratified authority of Menou: their doubts and hesitation, however, were removed, by learning that they were still addressed to General Kleber.

Menou, in announcing the news from France, in the order of the day, observed that dissensions existed in the army: this was at once a weak and dangerous process, and it seemed to call the more loudly upon the generals of division, Reynier, Dumas, Lanusse, Beliard, and Verdier, to go on with their intended remonstrance; they, accordingly, went, the same day, to his quarters: General Menou was extremely perplexed by the visit. In this interview the confederated generals observed, "That, having constantly lived with the armies, they had seen nothing but union and the greatest good-will among the troops, because intrigues had not before been introduced: that the Army of the East enjoyed perfect tranquillity

under Buonaparté and Kleber: that with sorrow they perceived the germs of division arising among the troops: and that, in searching for the cause, they found it in his conduct, since he had taken the command: that the surest means of restoring harmony would be, to recal some orders, contrary to the general interest; to govern himself, in future, by the laws of the Republic, with the aid of his chief officers; and, above all things, to banish all intrigues. They dwelt on the mischief of innovations in general, and, more particularly, of some of his ordinances: they urged to him, that he could not, in any case, place himself above the French laws: that if he represented the government as to the *civil* administration of Egypt, he was, to the *army*, no more than their general-in-chief; and that he had, in that quality, a sufficiently extensive latitude to do good: that if Egypt was to be declared a colony of France, the government would determine upon the form of its administration; and that this should be a motive to him not to be impatient to innovate: they insisted that it was imprudent in him publicly to proclaim Egypt a colony, before the government had declared its intentions on that subject: they called to his mind the policy of Buonaparté and Kleber on that delicate point, and endeavoured to make him feel what inquietude that name would give the Turks; they invited him to follow the example of the generals his predecessors, who had always been sparing of innovation, that the inhabitants might not be alarmed and disgusted at too precipitate changes; to express his orders of the day in more suitable language, and to spare his declamations on morals and probity, which seemed to say, that the army was no better than a horde of robbers, whom Buonaparté and Kleber had been unable to discipline: they also demanded that he would not correspond directly with the subaltern officers, which was contrary to military usage: they counselled him not to make, in future, any promotions, except the appointments which are left to the dis-

cretion of the General-in-Chief on the field of battle, and to fill vacancies: the generals of division also observed to him, that he ought, for the good of the service, and not to check the zeal of the public functionaries, to abstain from discharging persons in office confided to them by the government, without bringing them to a court martial. They spoke to him of the subscription for a monument to Kleber, and of the ill effects that must be produced by his refusal not only to join the subscription but even to announce it in the order of the day at the same time with Desaix's.

Menou heard all this with various emotions. To the last mentioned remonstrance, he declared *on his honour*, (a pledge he carelessly violated) that no one had ever spoken to him on the subject! But this shameless falsehood was detected to his face, by naming those who had heard his refusal. Thus caught, he promised to mention the subscription in the order of the day. He acknowledged the increase of the price of provisions, occasioned by his new duties, and promised to put the troops in a condition to procure provisions with their indemnity.

The generals cautiously and delicately forebore to complain to him of matters personal to themselves. The discussion was a little violent on some topics: General Menou was embarrassed, and made only vague replies. At length he demanded a day for consideration, declaring that he would give his answer in writing. He did not send the answer; but, the next day, took occasion to say, to one of the generals, that he found their representations just, but desired time to return gradually to former measures, that he might not be convicted of too much instability.

In this last request he undoubtedly evinced a just conception of the situation of a general-in-chief. Such is the nature of the human mind, that error itself cannot be renounced by men, who are placed in ostensible situations, without danger: nay, it is often of greater importance to

persist in some errors, than to unfix the opinion of inferiors by what might be deemed wavering, fickle, and uncertain conduct. There is nothing which so effectually destroys confidence as perpetual variation in the conduct of those whom you are called upon to confide in. It is a natural presumption, that measures which are duly premeditated, which are gradually matured, which are deliberately weighed, should be permanent and fixed: it is equally natural to suppose that those which are eternally altering have been adopted at random, and executed with precipitancy: such measures can effect no good; and a frequent repetition of similar incertitude of conduct, tends, infallibly, to generate mistrust, suspicion, and contempt. Whatever, therefore, may have been the defects of the plans pursued by Menou, he was, undoubtedly, right in preferring to ameliorate or abolish them by gradual improvements, so that new ones might supersede those which were erroneous almost insensibly, and without giving that shock to the minds of people which is invariably attendant upon too quick and too constant a revolution of things. We are not, indeed, fully convinced that such were the politic motives of Menou; it is much more probable that the gratification of personal pride was what he chiefly looked to; and it was more to prevent the appearance of being humbled by a decisive compliance with the will of the generals, than any deep conviction which he felt of the prudence of his measure. Be the cause, however, what it might, the beneficial results were not diminished; and it too often happens in this world that good is educed from the operation of weak or bad passions.

Towards the close of October the generals had another interview with Menou, previous to the funeral ceremonies in honour of Desaix: he then more explicitly confessed the necessity of the changes demanded by the generals; and said, that he had already given orders that some of their suggestions should be carried into effect. He again

promised to conduct himself according to the representations that had been made to him.

The troops were assembled on the 31st October, to render a funeral homage to General Desaix*. The ceremony passed with profound silence; the loss was deeply felt; but it required a commander-in-chief of a soldier-like character, to offer, in a worthy manner, to a brave man the expression of the regrets of his brave army. The place renewed the sentiment of the double loss they had sustained: it was in sight of Heliopolis, and of the field of battle in which Kleber had regained Egypt, that the cenotaph was erected. It is painful to relate, that the jealousy and hatred of Menou restrained the feelings of the troops. The generals chose rather to be silent than to exasperate the minds of the soldiers, already too much moved.

About this time General Menou caused offers to be made to Generals Damas, Lanusse, and Verdier, of passports for France; but, zealous for the preservation of Egypt, and seeing the army in feeble hands, they hoped still to be useful, and declined the offer.

Early in November, an officer arrived from France. Private letters announced that Menou was confirmed in the command; this was officially confirmed a few days after, by the arrival of another officer, who brought him his brevet of Commander-in-Chief.

On the same day they had another interview with Menou, who again promised to adopt the changes proposed to him; but still expressed the desire to introduce them successively.

Such were the feelings of the army towards their head; they regarded him with no friendly nor faithful eye: they had little confidence in his measures, and less in his abilities. The term, however, was passed in which he was to

* Our readers will remember that he fell in the battle of Marengo on the very same day (June 14,) that Kleber was assassinated in Egypt.

be considered as a commander *ad interim*; the government of his country had nominated him the head; and, as such, it was now incumbent on the soldiers and officers to shew him obedience, except in any case which might be considered as manifestly injurious to the service. Yet it was a forced obedience; and history too strongly proves, that an army, fighting under a commander unbeloved, fights without courage and without spirit.

THE END OF CHAPTER XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

Partial Exculpation of Menou....Position of the Grand Vizier after the Battle of Heliopolis....Calls in the Assistance of the English....Receives the Plan of the Campaign from Constantinople....Menou disbelieves the Idea that the English mean to attack Egypt, notwithstanding their extensive Operations....The extreme Fatuity of Menou in his Decisions....The Grand Vizier irresolute, and attempts to open a pacific Negotiation with Menou...The great Advantages of such a Plan....Murad Bey chosen as the Intermediator....Osman Bey sent to Cairo....Disgusted at Menou's Reception of him....The English Fleet sails from Malta....Delays in waiting for some Turkish Reinforcements....Appears before Aboukir....Preparations for landing.

IN this disgust, which the army felt towards Menou, strict impartiality may, perhaps, deduct something from the charge of the latter. It is to be considered that Menou stood in a situation that necessarily provoked comparison; he succeeded two great men, who had proved themselves eminently conspicuous in their military talents: he had succeeded Buonaparté, unquestionably the greatest man of the present, or perhaps of any age; and he had succeeded Kleber, a brave and gallant general, who was, perhaps, as much beloved by the soldiery as the former was admired and feared. The defects of nature are not to be retorted upon an individual, except when he thrusts himself, uncalled, into situations which call in particular for the exercise of those very parts he is deficient in: Menou could be compared neither to Buonaparté, nor Kleber: he neither had the promptitude, the policy, nor grandeur of design which belonged to the former; and he was far below the latter in magnanimity of character and generosity of soul. Yet he was placed in such

circumstances, as unavoidably, impelled those about him to a comparison: but it may, also, be said, that into these circumstances he did not voluntarily enter; the command *ad interim* was, in a manner, forced upon him, his scruples were overweighed, and the safety of the army represented as being almost dependent upon his acceptance of its command. Perhaps, indeed, those generals who urged him to this step were fully aware of its accidental responsibilities; and, when, they pursued Menou with invective and censure, they only did what they had previously anticipated. Without, however, endeavouring, or even wishing, to defend all the extravagant and capricious actions of this general, we have merely ventured to offer a probable apology for some of the obloquy which has been so liberally heaped upon him.

While these dissensions prevailed in the French army, the Grand Vizier was at Jaffa, (where he had remained since his retreat from Heliopolis) with ten or twelve thousand men, including horse and foot. The fortifications of this place had been repaired by some English engineers, as well as the breach at El Arish. He was, however, in no condition to march, though he continually asserted that it was his intention to proceed with offensive operations; this, however, was merely to inspirit and connect his forces. He received some reinforcements, but these were balanced by desertions; and the plague, which prevailed in his army, continually reduced his numbers. His troops had not yet forgotten their retreat from Heliopolis; and he was, besides, in open quarrel with the Bashaw Ghezzar, who commanded a more numerous army; the greatest dearth afflicted Palestine, the only place under his controul, and, consequently, the boundary of his resources. No supplies were to be procured from the inhabitants of the villages; and he was, at length, constrained to import from Europe, under numerous disadvantages, the subsistence for his army; a reinforcement of 10,000 men, assembled at Aleppo, was recalled, to act

against Paswan Oglou, who, having raised himself into popularity by his opposition to the imposts of the government, was in formidable rebellion against the Porte.

Receiving little money from Constantinople, the Vizier attempted, in December, to raise the value of the coin, to provide pay for his troops, but the army revolted, and it was with difficulty he pacified and retained them under his standard.

In the midst of these difficulties, and finding it impossible to act without an ally, he demanded aid from the English. Part of the English army appeared off Jaffa, towards the latter end of December, but were prevented from landing, by the apprehensions of the plague, which was making great ravages in the Vizier's army. They, therefore, sailed for Rhodes and the Gulph of Macri, to finish their preparations for the campaign.

About the middle of December the Vizier received from Constantinople the plan of the campaign, and orders to act in concert with the English generals. The wisdom of this policy, however, in appearing to be particularly connected with the Vizier, may reasonably be doubted; since, by this measure, they forfeited the friendship of the Mamelukes, a brave, powerful, and warlike race, who were thus induced to ally themselves more intimately with the French. General Koehler, or Keller, (for it is spelt both ways,) with some officers of the line, and about forty privates, were about this time engaged in disciplining the Vizier's troops.

The spies of the French employed in Syria, and the Greek vessels arriving at the ports of Egypt, gave information, about the 10th of January, to General Menou, of these hostile dispositions. Certainly there was every reason to suppose that the English meditated a serious descent upon Egypt; yet Menou could not be persuaded but that the Vizier only would attempt it; and that the English, foreseeing the partition of the Ottoman Empire,

would wish to have their share, would establish themselves at Rhodes, and would thus be possessed of the Archipelago.

A detachment of troops, however, quartered in Upper Egypt, received orders to march to Benezouff, and hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Cairo. Two frigates, which entered the port of Alexandria on the 3rd of February, with 300 conscripts, a company of artillery and ammunition, brought more certain intelligence of the designs of the enemy against Egypt: it also brought instructions from the French government for its defence, and announced the sending of more considerable succours. Agreeably to this intelligence, Menou, afterwards, occupied Rahmanieh, that, by securing the Delta, he might facilitate the landing of Gantheaume, with two frigates, and carrying a reinforcement of not less than 5,000 men, which could not, on the arrival of the English fleet, be attempted at Alexandria.

Notwithstanding the extensive preparations of the English, in consequence of the urgent solicitations of the Porte, and the total incapacity of that power to resist, by itself, the power of France, the Turks were, nevertheless, extremely unwilling to engage vigorously in active measures: many reasons concurred to produce this irresolution. They were considerably awed by the threats of the emperor Paul: this madman, at the evident instigation of Buonaparté, seemed determined to over-run the Ottoman Empire; and the Turks were anxious to avoid, what they dreaded beyond any thing else, the appearance of a Russian army.

Again; the very appearance of the English, though so much desired and so much needed, now operated as a cause of their indecision: the forces of this country were regarded with suspicion, and the dread of the prospective superiority of the English nearly equalled the apprehension with which the success of the French was regarded; for, in either case, Egypt might, eventually, be subjected

to the yoke of the victorious invader. This apprehension had, undoubtedly, a just foundation; history is full of truth upon this subject. How many instances are upon record, where weak states, calling in the aid of a superior one, have, finally, been subjected by those whom they invited as their allies and defenders!

The Grand Vizier had, besides, to counteract the intrigues of the Captain Bashaw, the uniform advocate of the French, and whose ascendancy was predominant in the Seraglio.

It would seem as if the utmost fatuity was destined to mix itself with every action and every resolution of Menou. The Vizier thought that the best mode of counteracting the intrigues of the Captain Bashaw would be to conclude a peace with Menou, which should have for its object the evacuation of Egypt. This event, so much wished, had already been upon the point of execution by the treaty of El Arish, when its rupture, by the English, rendered it abortive: a circumstance which, doubtless, tended to render the British army not only suspected but less respected.

A means was, luckily, open to the Vizier of commencing this secret negotiation with Menou, without, at the same time, awakening the suspicion or exciting the resentment of the English. Murad Bey had been encouraged, by Kleber, to correspond with Ibrahim Bey, as a medium of ascertaining the plans and dispositions of the allies; this was, therefore, the channel through which the Vizier proposed to effect his scheme: he, therefore, requested Murad, through Ibrahim Bey, to offer himself as a mediator between the Turks and French. Murad Bey, in fact, hated the Turks and dreaded their vengeance; but it was his policy to keep well with all parties: his fate was united with that of the French army.

The proposal of mediation to Murad Bey happened at the time when he was accustomed to send the tribute for his provinces to Cairo. He accepted the instructions

of the Vizier, and entrusted their conveyance to Cairo to the hands of Osman Bey Bardisi: this last had an interview with Menou on the 19th of February: he laid before that general a statement of the English forces, together with the plan of the approaching campaign. The English army, he affirmed amounted to eighteen thousand men*; they were to attempt a landing, in conjunction with the Captain Bashaw, while the Vizier crossed the Desert, and the English fleet, with troops from India, should arrive at Suez. He produced the letters which Ibrahim wrote to Murad on the part of the Grand Vizier, who charged Murad to represent to General Menou, that the French could scarcely resist the combined attack of three armies; that even the victories of the French would be gained by losses, in their circumstances impossible to repair; and that they must sink under new efforts. Murad Bey, on his own part, prayed General Menou not to forget *his* interests if he should treat; but offered, in the contrary case, to send him succours, and to aid him with all his resources.

Never was want of policy, never was want of common sense, more grossly betrayed, than in the conduct of Menou on the present occasion. Instead of accepting the proffered assistance of Murad Bey; instead of availing himself of offers to treat, and, by dissensions between the English and the Turks, weakening both parties, he comported himself towards Osman Bey with coolness and abruptness: he pretended not to credit the possibility of executing the plan of the campaign laid before him; he seemed, rather, to consider Osman as a spy, deputed to investigate the condition of the French army, than as the ambassador of a mediatorial power: he declared that he had no need of the aid nor of the mediation of any person: and observed, that Murad Bey would do well to re-

* This was much exaggerated, we mean as to the *effective* force; but we shall have occasion to mention the real strength, and to shew the wilful misrepresentations of Reynier on this subject.

main tranquil in the provinces ceded to him and forbear all correspondence with Syria.

To other missions, with which Osman Bey was charged, Menou shewed the same intemperate reception, and the former was extremely perplexed as to what measures to pursue. He related the circumstances of his interview to General Dumas and the inspector, Daure, with whom he was more particularly acquainted: both these generals endeavoured to convince him that he ought to take no offence at a few harsh words falling from Menou; and said, that he might assure Murad Bey of the esteem and attachment of all the French.

Osmaa remained at Cairo to take back dispatches from General Menou. On the news of the appearance of the English fleet in the road of Aboukir, he repeated Murad's offers, to strengthen the French army with all his resources; but he received only evasive answers, and was, soon afterwards, ordered to quit Cairo and return to Murad Bey. Thus terminated the overtures towards a negotiation, which, had it been skilfully managed, might have proved of the greatest importance to the French. Had Buonaparté been at that time at the head of the Egyptian army, what a different turn would, probably, have been given to its affairs! That consummate general and able politician would have seen at once the obvious advantage of such overtures, and would have exerted all his means to procure a division between the English and Turks, even though he might not have quitted Egypt; which, as it was his favourite scheme, it is probable he would have endeavoured to obviate by delays and obstacles.

During the time we are now speaking of the plague shewed itself at Cairo and in many of the neighbouring villages; at the same time it broke out in Upper Egypt. The finances were collected by force, the military chest was nearly exhausted, and the magazines were unprovided with corn, of which there had been a scarcity among

the French since the death of Kleber: it was, therefore, with considerable pleasure that they saw two ships arrive in the port of Alexandria, from France, on the 1st of March. *La Regenerée** brought two hundred men, of the 51st demi-brigade, a company of artillery, and ammunition; the brig *La Lodi* communicated the satisfactory intelligence of Gantheaume's squadron, with the promised reinforcements.

All eyes were now anxiously turned towards Egypt: two of the most powerful of European nations were contending on its shores for the possession of the East; on which ever side the balance might incline the event was important, not only to England and France, but to the whole civilized world: yet England could not look on without unusual interest. It had, all along, been the policy of Buonaparté to aim at the commerce of England; hoping that, if he could paralyse that, he might, finally, succeed in subjugating the realm. It remains however a problem with many of our modern politicians, whether we need depend at all, as a nation, upon foreign trade; but those who were not of this opinion waited, in awful suspense, the termination of a contest which would, probably, decide the existence of the most important of our commercial possessions. Securely and quietly possessed of Egypt, Buonaparté might there organize the means of disturbing our East India territories, and, per-

* It may, perhaps, excite some surprise, that a French frigate should reach Alexandria when our ships were covering the Mediterranean: one thing was, that the English vessels, which had been blockading this port, were gone to join the fleet under Lord Keith in the Bay of Aboukir. However, it is a fact, that *La Regenerée*, finding herself, unexpectedly, in the midst of the English fleet, so completely disguised herself that she continued with it unsuspected; this she did a whole day, answering the various signals made, without exciting the smallest suspicion; on the following morning she stood in for Alexandria, and, hoisting French colours, proved, unequivocally, her nation! We agree with Sir Robert Wilson, that this is an honourable anecdote to the credit of the French captain of *La Regenerée*, and we feel pleasure in recording it.

haps, of, finally, driving us from thence, by inciting the surrounding states to hostilities and insurrections. Having no use for a navy, he would transport his forces over land; previously acquiring, by negotiation, the amity and concurrence of those states, whose country he must pass through. It was, indeed, a gigantic plan, but neither beyond the comprehension of the Hero who conceived it, nor removed so far from possibility as to deter his enterprising genius from attempting it: it must, however, have been a work of time, and, perhaps, might, ultimately, have failed; yet the probability of its success, nay, the very contemplation of such a scheme, was sufficient to alarm those whose interests were intimately connected with its ultimate decision.

England, in the contest which she thus undertook, had many difficulties, proportioned to the magnitude of the object, to surmount. The Vizier, with his usual irresolution, yet debated on the propriety of co-operation; while the Captain Bashaw, who was at Constantinople with part of his fleet, inclined to treat with the enemy. The English, taking the unpopular side, that of the government, still less was to be hoped from the countenance and support of the people, whom the French had long flattered with the idea of freedom and independence. Nor were these the only obstacles: this expedition had to contend with an army, habituated to the country, respected, at least, if not beloved, by the inhabitants, and flushed with reputation and success; an army inured to danger, aware of the importance of Egypt to their government, determined to defend the possession of it; and encouraged in this determination, no less by the assurance of speedily receiving effectual succours, than by the promise of reward and love of glory.

The English fleet, ships of war of various kinds, boats and transports, having set sail from Malta, 10th of December, had arrived at Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, on the 28th of December, and had captured on its pas-

sage a vessel, bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, from which some information was acquired respecting the French force at Alexandria. At Marmorice the whole army was, alternately, put on shore, paraded, and refreshed; and was joined by a convoy of Greeks and Turks, who, however, deserted during the strong Westerly gales, on the passage to Aboukir, where the English arrived on the 2nd of March. Too much of the day of their arrival had elapsed to admit of the landing being effected before the approach of night; and an unfortunate succession of strong Northerly gales, attended by a heavy swell, augmenting the difficulties of a coast naturally dangerous, rendered it, till the 8th, impossible to disembark. Though it was not originally intended to have commenced operations on the side of Alexandria, the long delay of the fleet at Marmorice for the vain purpose of securing a reinforcement of Greeks and Turks, induced the general to change his opinion and to proceed at this time.

From the time of the arrival of the English at Aboukir* to their landing, they had the mortification of seeing the

* Aboukir is a small port, E. N. E. of Alexandria; the interval along the coast is rocky and dangerous. Though the Rosetta branch of the Nile is navigable to small vessels, yet none, of force sufficient to cover a landing, can approach it. The Delta coast is shoal to the Damietta branch; which admits of vessels of great burthen, but not sufficient to obtain a footing against any well directed resistance; farther along the coast, to Jaffa and Acre, it is worse. The Lake Mareotis, extending along the South side of the peninsula of Aboukir; was the ancient mouth of the Nile by Canopus. The sea penetrating, without resistance, into the bed forsaken by the Nile, enlarged it more and more into a vast lake, and still continues to enlarge it, insomuch, that the isthmus which unites Aboukir to the continent, and along which the canal is carried, which furnishes water to Alexandria, is threatened with final ruin. For the defence of this isthmus, the Arabian princes, the caliphs, set about forming a mound, or *dyke*, of which, however, traces are only to be found in two places. It is conjectured, either that it was never completed, or that it gave way before the violence of the waves, which are dashed against it, for part of the year, by the Northern winds. This lake, except in the season of the inundation, is nearly dry.

scattered divisions of the French army marching daily along the beach into that fort, and batteries erected on the sandhills to oppose their disembarkation. On the evening of March 7th, the wind changing to the Northward, and the sea becoming more calm, the general was enabled to reconnoitre the shore, and determine on the spot for landing: while Sir Sidney Smith, who had been dispatched to Lake Maadie, in three armed launches, to ascertain some points, the possession of which might be of service, having assailed a battery, taken a blockhouse, defended by forty men, and boarded a guard-boat at the entrance of Aboukir lake, returned with a chief of brigade captive, and an ass with its driver, to the unspeakable amusement of the whole fleet. Trivial as this event may appear, its effect on the army was electric; every man wished to have been of the party, and looked forward to the morning with emulation. That morning came, so big with fate to many of our gallant countrymen, who breathed their last on the parched shores of Egypt in defence of their country.

THE END OF CHAP. XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

Accurate State of the British Army employed in the Expedition against Egypt....The great Temerity of the Attempt to land with such a disproportionate Force, and under such Difficulties....The Soldiers prepare for their Debarkation....Solemn Situation, and awful State of Suspence....The generous Feelings of Sir Ralph Abercrombie....Effect their landing, and Loss sustained on the Occasion....Water found in Abundance....The friendly Disposition of the Arabs....The Commander of Aboukir Castle refuses to surrender it, and it is blockaded....Menou adopts Precautions for strengthening the Garrison....The Supply in the Market cut off....The French retreat to the Heights of Nicopolis....Position of the Armies previous to the Memorable 21st of March.

THE British army were in want of many comforts; what was still more important, they were in total want of correct information respecting Egypt. Not a map to be depended upon could be procured, and the best draught, from which information could be formed, and which was distributed to the generals, proved ridiculously incorrect. Sir Sidney Smith was the only officer who knew any thing of the locality of the coasts, and he, certainly, as far as he had seen, gave perfect information: but he had never been in the interior of the country. It is, however, a positive fact, extraordinary as it may appear, that so little was Sir Ralph Abercrombie acquainted with the strength of the enemy he was preparing to attack, that he rated their force, at the greatest calculation, at only 10,000 French, and 5,000 auxiliaries, and, even then, exceeding the number stated in the official information sent from home, and on which the expedition was originally formed.

General Reynier having industriously endeavoured to misrepresent the effective force of the British army, we shall state it exactly:

It consisted of the following regiments, amounting to 15,330 men, including 999 sick, 500 Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of people attached to an army, except officers. The effective force was not, at the highest computation, therefore, above 12,000; and, indeed, that number, within two hundred, was the return given in to the Commander-in-Chief.

Guards	Major General LUDLOW.
1st, or Royals, 2nd battalions, 54th, } 92nd	Major General COOTE.
8th, 13th, 90th	Major General CRADDOCK.
2nd, or Queen's, 50th, 79th	Major General Lord CAVAN.
18th, 30th, 44th, 89th	Brigadier General DOYLE.
Minorca, De Rolle's, Dillon's . . .	Major General STUART.

RESERVE.

40th, Flank Company 23rd, 28th, } 42nd, 58th, Corsican Rangers, de- } tachment of the 11th Dragoons, } Comspeak's Regiment . . . }	Major General MOORE.
12th Dragoons, 26th Dragoons . . .	Brigadier General FINCH.
Artillery and Pioneers	Brigadier General LAWSON.

It must be allowed, even at the calculation of the supposed strength of the enemy, that to attack, with such a force, the possessors of a country, strengthened by the advantages of strong fortified posts, a numerous cavalry, powerful artillery, and a perfect acquaintance with those few points where a debarkation was practicable, was an enterprise of the most audacious character. What then must be the astonishment of all military men at the success of the expedition, when the real force of the enemy is ascertained!

The wind continuing moderate, and the swell of the sea subsiding, on the morning of the 8th of March, at two o'clock, the first division of the army, consisting of the Reserve, under the orders of Major General Moore,

the brigade of Guards under Major General Ludlow, and part of the 1st brigade, composed of the Royals, 1st battalion of the 54th, 200 of the 2nd battalion, the whole amounting to about 5,500 men, under the command of Major General Coote, assembled in the boats; the remainder of the first and second brigade being put into ships close to the shore, that a support might be quickly given after the first landing was effected. At three o'clock, on the signal rocket from the Admiral's ship, the boats having received the troops, proceeded to rendezvous near the ship Mondovi, which was anchored about a gunshot from the shore. Here they were to assemble, and be drawn up within the armed vessels, stationed to cover their landing, and wait for orders. This division of the army occupied about 150 gun-boats. The clear silence of the night and the interesting solemnity of the scene no words can adequately describe. Along a space of six miles to the shore, nothing was to be heard but the deep murmur of thousands of oars dipping in the sea, and incessantly urging the flower of a brave army to the severest destiny of man! The extent of the anchorage was so great, that the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not be completed till near nine o'clock.

And here let the reader pause for a moment, to dwell on this solemn scene, and imagine to himself the feelings, the impatience, the suspense, which agitated every mind; the hopes and fears which distracted the spectators; the anxiety of the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie for the success of this hardy enterprise; and the fate of the intrepid men who so cheerfully engaged to execute his orders! The heart of the brave man will beat high with enthusiasm.

The right flank of the boats was protected by the Cru lle cutter and the Dangereuse and Janizary gun vessels; the left by the Entrepennant cutter, Malta schooner, and Negress gun vessel; on each flank were also two launches of the fleet, armed, to supply the place of the

Turkish gun-boats, which had separated on the passage. Sir Sidney Smith, with a detachment of seamen directed to co-operate with the army, had charge of the launches, which contained the field artillery. At nine o'clock the signal was made for the boats to advance: they sprung forwards at the same instant, and the whole scene became animation! The French to the number of two thousand men, posted on the top of the sandhills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front, of about a mile, (in the centre of which elevated itself a nearly perpendicular height of sixty yards, apparently inaccessible) had looked down with wonder at the preparation; and, since, confessed, that they could not believe the attempt would even have been made: but when they saw the boats moving with extraordinary rapidity to the shore, and the armed vessels opening their guns, they could no longer doubt the seriousness of the intention, and immediately opened a tremendous discharge of grape-shot, and shells of all dimensions; and, as the boats approached, the shower of grape and musketry seemed so to plough the surface of the water that nothing on it could live; for a moment it even checked and compelled some of the boats rather to close upon the left: but the impulse returned with increased ardor, and, pressing through the storm, the rowers forced to the beach: the Reserve leaped out of the boats on the shore and formed as they advanced; the 23rd and 40th rushed up the heights with almost preternatural energy, never firing a shot, but charging with the bayonet the two battalions which crowned it; breaking them, and pursuing till they carried the Two Nole Hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left; taking, at the same time, three pieces of cannon. The 42nd regiment had landed, and formed as on a parade, then mounted the position, notwithstanding the fire from two pieces of cannon and a battalion of infantry: the moment they gained the height two hundred French

dragoons attempted to charge them, but were as quickly repulsed.

The boats of the Guards had scarce felt the beach, and the men began to jump out, before the same body of cavalry, who had rallied behind the sandhills, charged suddenly upon them: this unexpected attack caused a momentary disorder; but the 58th regiment, formed already on their right, by their fire checked the enemy, and gave time for the Guards to present a front, when the cavalry again retreated with considerable loss. The 54th and Royals, from being in transport boats, did not reach the shore so soon as the others, but landed at the instant a column of six hundred infantry was advancing, with fixed bayonets, through a hollow, against the left flank of the guards: the French, on seeing them, hesitated, then, firing a volley, retreated. This moment of exultation cannot be described, but the most callous mind must be sensible to its effect.

The French finding the British in full possession of the heights, and General Coote advancing with the Guards and his brigade, ran from all points of their position, but, in the rear sandhills, maintained, for about an hour and a half, a scattered fire; when they were, finally, obliged to retreat, having lost three hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horses. The boats returned immediately for the remainder of the army, which, by the great exertions of the navy, were all landed before night. Sir Relpth Abercrombie, impressed with the strongest feelings of gratitude and admiration, came on shore, and took up a position distant about three miles, with his right to the sea and left on Lake Maadie.

The loss of the British amounted in this affair to nearly five hundred men, among whom were several gallant officers.

General Reynier, among other falsehoods, (with which his work abounds respecting the military operations, of

the English in Egypt) asserts that the infantry laid down in the bottom of their boats; while the sailors, indifferent to the French artillery, rowed with vigor to the shore. "What kind of boats," says Sir Robert Wilson, "must those flats have been which would have allowed of such an extension? Is it possible that any one can be ignorant of the necessity of troops, in all debarkations, wedging as close as possible together in an upright position, or how could fifty men be carried in each boat? malignity should always thus defeat itself.

"From a consideration of the enemy's strength," continues Sir Robert, "and an observation of the map, military men must pronounce that a landing, in the face of such a position, was nearly impracticable, where both parties did their duty: but it would be unjust to insinuate that the French did not behave with spirit and resolution. Their defence was strictly good, and the conquest one of those singular phenomena which occasionally occur, to animate the brave with a confidence, that brilliant exertions, supported by persevering courage, may surmount mathematical improbabilities, and snatch a victory where cold calculation would predict a certain defeat. The event, however, does not, in all cases, justify the councils; but Sir Ralph Abercrombie's peculiar situation must be considered, and weigh heavily in the enquiry. Had he been alarmed at the formidable appearance of the position, it is too much to be feared, that his prudence, however just, would have involved himself and army in eternal and irretrievable obloquy."

After the action the army employed itself in digging to find water, as Sir Sidney Smith assured the troops that, wherever date trees grew, water must be near. The fact proved so, and the Commander-in-Chief found himself relieved from an anxiety which might otherwise have determined him still to relinquish the enterprise. An Arab came to Sir Sidney Smith, and shewed him a well, which he said had been closed by him ever since the

French landed. This was an act of friendship which augured favourably of the general disposition.

The French commander of Aboukir Castle refusing to surrender, the Queen's, and 26th dismounted dragoons, were ordered to blockade it. On the 9th of March the army advanced its position a short way, and there posted, in three lines. On the 10th some skirmishing between the advanced posts took place; 20 Corsican Rangers were taken and the surgeon of the corps, by the sudden advance of a body of cavalry. Colonel Spence, who had been out reconnoitring with General Moore, narrowly escaped.

The news of the landing of the English had reached Cairo on the 13th, and Menou immediately took precautions for reinforcing the garrison; so that, when the English came in sight of the enemy, they found them strongly posted among sandhills, and palm-trees, four miles from the walls of the ancient Alexandria, eastward, and numbering about 6,000 infantry, besides a body of 600 cavalry, aided by flying artillery. The English amounted to thirteen or fourteen thousand, but their cavalry was badly mounted, and they were deficient in artillery; early on the morning of the 13th they moved forward, however, to the attack. The left wing was first in motion, taking the edge of Lake Maadie, and designing to turn the right of the French; the right, acting as a reserve, covered the movement, and kept in a parallel with the first line. The centre marched slowly on the other side of a height, which, concealing them from view, General Lanusse imagined the left wing to be insulated. Under this persuasion, he advanced into the plain, hoping to overpower it by a brisk attack: this was conducted with all the impetuosity of French cavalry, and as resolutely repulsed by the 90th — and 92nd regiments, particularly the former, whom their antagonists unfortunately mistook for dismounted cavalry, — but found them on their knees prepared to receive the charge: meanwhile the English centre had appeared on —

the height. As it was no longer possible to flank the left wing, Lanusse commenced his retreat, which he conducted with great ability, to the heights of Nicopolis. From this position the French might have easily been forced by the ardour of their assailants, who, in the midst of a victorious career, were ordered to desist: on reconnoitring the situation of the enemy, it was judged imprudent to attempt a position that could not, when gained, be occupied. Recovering from their dismay, on seeing a halt commanded at the moment when they expected to be driven within the walls of the city, the French came forward, and enjoyed the satisfaction of galling the retreat of the English.

This action was highly creditable to the gallantry and discipline of the British, whose movements were executed with the same steadiness and accuracy as if at a review in England. The loss of the English was about 1,100 men killed and wounded: the French, of course, did not suffer so much; but, above 500 of them were put *hors-du-combat*. Four field-pieces were also taken, and a great quantity of ammunition. Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the action had a horse shot under him.

The English, with their right to the sea, near the Roman camp, and their left to the Canal of Alexandria, at this time dry, opposite the point of Lake Maadie, were assiduously employed in getting their heavy cannon on shore and fortifying their camp. The French, leaving a strong guard on the heights of Nicopolis, to impose on the English, employed themselves in repairing the works of Alexandria; dispatching, also a vessel to acquaint the government with what had happened, and to inform Gantheaume of the position of the English fleet. On the 19th of March Fort Aboukir capitulated to the English: while Menou, arriving from Cairo, the whole of his disposeable force was, on the 20th, concentrated at Alexandria. This junction might, perhaps, have been prevented, had the

English, by cutting the dyke, which separates it from Lake Maadie, let the sea into the Lake Mareotis.

On the 19th the supply in the market, which had been established, altogether failed, from the advance of General Menou, whose patrols had fallen in with and killed several Arabs bringing sheep.

On the 20th an Arab chief sent a Letter to Sir Sidney Smith, acquainting him of the arrival of General Menou with a large army, and that it was his intention to surprise and attack the British camp the next morning; but much confidence was not placed in the communication at headquarters, although Sir Sidney was convinced in his own mind of the honesty and truth of the information, and assured his friends of that event taking place.

On the night of the 20th the position of the army had been strengthened by a battery, not closed in the rear, erected a little in front, and to the left of the ruins of Ptolemy's Palace, from whence the space to the sea was open. In front of the right of the Guards was a redoubt; on their left a large battery, where the signal-staff was hoisted, which was afterwards called The Citadel: on the left of the line a redoubt, and on the canal of Alexandria two works. On the whole line were two 24 pounders, and 34 field pieces.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Position of the English after the Battle of Nicopolis.... Resolution of Menou, and Comparison between his Mode of stimulating the Soldiery and Buonaparté's.... The greatness of Mind displayed in the Harangues of Buonaparté.... Disposition of the French Troops before the Battle of the 21st of March.... The Intention of Menou.... Commencement of the Action before daylight.... Feelings of the British Army.... Uncommon Bravery displayed by the 28th Regiment.... Gallantry of the 42nd.... Sir Ralph Abercrombie wounded, and his Bravery.... Anecdote of Sir Sidney Smith.... Menou finding himself foiled in all his Attempts, sounds a retreat.... General Abercrombie, after the Battle, carried on board Lord Keith's Ship.

AFTER these various actions there was every reason to expect a general engagement; and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, being ignorant of the junction of the army Alexandria, was anxious that this might be the before case.

The English occupied a line about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the lake of Aboukir and the canal of Alexandria, at that time dry, on their left. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts filled with artillery. Here Menou resolved to attack them on the ensuing morning. He proclaimed a *Louis-d'or* for each man who would volunteer to commence the action by turning the right of his enemy. This was undertaken by the Invincibles, amounting to 900 men. Even in this we may observe the character of Menou, and the great disparity between him and Buonaparté. That Great Man would never have resorted to the

poor expedient of stimulating his soldiers by the hope of pecuniary reward; it was his constant custom to hold before their eyes fame, renown, and honourable wounds: perhaps there never was a general who led his army forward more by the impulse of pure and unmixed military glory; in modern times, certainly no one has so closely followed that grandeur of motive that we so much admire in the Greeks and Romans. It is impossible not to be struck with the animating and forceful harangues, proclamations, &c. of Buonaparté to his army: the spirit of an ancient Roman shines through them, and seems to say, "This man deserves to command." But to return:

On the memorable 21st of March the English army, as usual, was under arms at three o'clock in the morning: all was quiet till half past three o'clock, when the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the left: instantly afterwards a cannon was fired, scattered musketry succeeded, and then two more guns.

An hour before daylight the French troops assembled at the advanced posts. General Lanusse believed that the English redoubts might be easily carried by grenadiers, supported by the head of the columns. He marched his two brigades in close column, intending to form them beyond the main redoubt and the Roman camp, and fall upon the right of the English army. The brigade of General Silly was to march directly against the redoubt; that of General Valentin to follow the shore, passing between the sea and the Roman camp. The centre was to march close to the right of General Lilly's brigade, following it as a second line; and, on the first success, vigorously to attack, along with the right wing, the position of redoubts of the enemy's centre. But the division of the French centre, with two bodies, each with its separate commanding officer, and subdivided again by the detaching of its grenadiers, deprived it of that combined action necessary to the complete accomplishment

of its orders. The right wing was to form between the lakes and the centre to attack the opposite wing of the enemy as soon as the enemy's right was broken: they were also to detach a corps between the two lakes to occupy the left of the English, and to prevent their sending a body against Alexandria; this wing was to be supported by General Bron, detached with two regiments of cavalry to the basin of Lake Maféôtié, and also by a false attack of dromedaries on the side of Bedati. It was the more confidently to be expected that this false attack would greatly occupy the English and prevent detachments from their left wing, being as we have already mentioned, ignorant of the junction of the army before Alexandria, and might expect to be attacked on that side; and these movements, if successful, would give the advantage of acting with equal forces on their right. The cavalry were to march in a second line behind the infantry till the left had broken the line of the English, when they were to seize the moment of disorder to decide the victory by a vigorous charge.

Such were the dispositions of the French army. Let us now return to our countrymen.

We have already mentioned, that about half past three o'clock, a firing was heard on the left: this was the false attack of the French. For a moment attention was directed to that quarter; all were convinced that a general attack was commencing, but it was immediately evident that the firing was too feeble on the left to believe that to be the point of the enemy's serious object. Indeed this was the universal sentiment; and General Moore, who, as general officer of the night, on the first alarm, proceeded to the left, was so impressed with this idea that he turned back to the right.

For a few minutes all was still; but it was the awful suspense of anxious expectation, not of apprehension. Every eye was painfully extended forwards through the gloomy mist of the atmosphere, and the ears strained to

catch the smallest sound. Occasionally the Eastern horizon was anxiously regarded; but, though the grey of the morning was perceptible, it seemed reluctantly to break. On a sudden, loud shouts were heard in front of the right, which fully certified the enemy's intention; a roar of musketry immediately succeeded, and the action there became general.

The enemy, covered by the unequal surface of the ground, had advanced, unperceived, as far as the videttes, and continued to press on with them, and the retiring piquettes of infantry, to the main position, with all possible celerity; one column directed itself upon the ruins, where the 58th were posted, the front of which was considerably more extensive than the front of the regiment; but some parts of the wall still standing, it admitted of the regiment's dividing itself; but scarcely, notwithstanding did the troops fill up the different openings. Colonel Houston, who commanded, faintly perceived the column of the enemy advancing, with beat of drums and huzzas; but, fearing lest the English piquettes might be preceding, he allowed it to approach so close that the glazed hats were clearly distinguished, when he ordered the grenadiers to fire, which was followed by the whole regiment, and repeated with several rounds. These continued and well directed discharges not only checked but made the enemy's column retire quickly into a hollow, some distance in their rear, when it, shortly afterwards, wheeled to the right, and endeavoured to force round the redoubt in front of its left, with another column directing its march upon the battery. The 28th regiment, stationed there, opened a heavy fire on that part of the enemy which attempted to storm the redoubt in front; but the main body of the two columns, now joined to a third, forced in behind the redoubt, and, while some remained to attack it thus in the rear, the rest penetrated into the ruins. Colonel Crowjye, who commanded the left of the 58th, observing their advance, through the openings, wheeled

back two companies, and, after two or three rounds of fire, advanced on the enemy with the bayonet. At this instant the 23rd regiment appeared to support, having moved for that purpose from its station, and the 42nd also advancing on the exterior side of the ruins, to cover the opening on the left of the redoubt, to cut off the troops which had entered, after a severe loss, they were obliged to surrender. The 28th regiment had presented, as well as the 58th, the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting at the same time, to the front, flanks, and rear. Although thus surrounded, the 28th regiment remained fixed to the platform of the parapet, and, preserving its order, continued a contest unexampled before this day.

The advance of the 42nd relieved the 28th, for a moment, from this unequal attack; but as that regiment approached the right of the redoubt, floundering over the tents, and in the holes dug in the encampment of the 28th regiment, charged *en masse* and overwhelmed the 42nd: yet, though broken, this gallant corps was not defeated; individually it resisted! and the conduct of each man exalted still more the high character of the regiment. Colonel Spencer (who, with the flank companies of the 40th, had taken his station in the intervals of the ruins) was, for some seconds, afraid to order his men to fire, lest he should destroy the 42nd, so intermixed with the enemy: but the cavalry pressing on, and directing itself against that interval, he was obliged to command the firing, which stopped the cavalry's advances: yet such a feeble force must have instantly been overpowered, if, at this critical moment, General Stuart, with the foreign brigade from the second line, had not advanced, in the most perfect order, and poured in such a heavy and well-directed fire that nothing could withstand it, and the enemy fled or perished. It was in this charge of the cavalry that the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, always

anxious to be the most forward in danger, received his mortal wound: on the first alarm he had mounted his horse, and, finding that the right was seriously engaged, proceeded thither: when he came near the ruins he dispatched his aids-de-camp with some orders to different brigades; and, while thus alone, some dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse: one of them (from the tassel of his sword supposed to be an officer) then rode at him and attempted to cut him down; but, just as the point of the sword was falling, his natural heroism, and the energy of the moment, so invigorated the veteran General, that he seized the sword and wrested it from the uplifted hand; at that instant the officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42nd. Sir Ralph Abercrombie did not know the moment of his receiving the wound in his thigh, but complained severely of the contusion in his breast, supposed to be given by the hilt of the sword in the scuffle. Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer who came to Sir Ralph, and who, by an accident, had broken his own sword, which Sir Ralph observing, he instantly presented to him the one he had so gloriously acquired*.

Sir Ralph (as the cavalry was by this time repulsed) walked to the redoubt on the right of the Guards, from which he could command a view of the whole field of battle. The French, although driven out of the camp,

* This sword Sir Sidney Smith means to place on his monument "A singular circumstance," says Sir Robert Wilson (from whose well written, manly, and impartial 'History of the British Expedition,' the above account is chiefly taken) happened almost immediately afterwards; Major Hall, aid-de-camp to General Craddock, while going with orders, had his horse killed. Seeing Sir Sidney, he begged to mount his orderly man's horse. As Sir Sidney was turning round, to bid him give it to Major Hall, a cannon-ball struck off the dragoon's head. 'This,' exclaimed Sir Sidney, 'is destiny! the horse, Major Hall, is yours.'

by no means gave up the contest on the right. A second charge of cavalry was attempted, by their reserve, against, the foreign brigade, but completely failed. After this their infantry did not keep any longer in a body, but acted *en tirailleur*, except that a battalion maintained still a little *flèche* in front of the redoubt, on each flank of which Republican colours were planted.

The ammunition of the English being by this time totally exhausted, the regiments of the reserve were obliged to remain without firing a shot, some not having one round left; and, for a time, there was not one cartouch for the guns in the battery! While such was the state of the contest on the right the attack on the centre had also continued. As soon as day dawned a column of grenadiers had advanced, supported by a heavy line of infantry, to the assault of this part of the position: the Guards, posted there at first threw out their flankers to oppose them, but these being driven in when the column approached very near, General Ludlow directed the brigade to fire, which they did with the greatest precision. The French general, seeing the *échelon* formation, had advanced to turn the left flank of the Guards; but the officer commanding there instantly wheeled back some companies, which checked their movement; and the advance of General Coote with his brigade compelled them to retreat. Finding this effort ineffectual they then dispersed as sharp-shooters, and kept up a very destructive fire, at the same time that the French cannon played incessantly. The left of the British was never seriously engaged, it was only exposed to partial musketry and a distant cannonade.

The French on the right, during the want of ammunition among the British, had attempted to approach again close to the redoubt; and some of them having also exhausted theirs, absolutely pelted stones, from the ditch, at the 28th, who returned these unusual, yet not altogether

harmless, instruments of violence, as a serjeant of the 28th was killed by one breaking through his forehead; but the grenadier company of the 40th moving out, the assailants ran away; the sharp-shooters in front left the hollows they were covered by, and the battalion also evacuated the *flèche*.

At length General Menou, finding that every one of his movements had failed, and that the British lines had suffered no serious impression, to justify the hopes of an eventual success, determined on a retreat: his lines retired, in very good order, under the heights of their position; but, fortunately for them, there was such a want, on the part of the English, of ammunition, otherwise the slaughter would at least, have been double, as the ground they had to pass over presented a glacis for the farthest range of shot: as it was, the cannon on the left did much execution, and also the King's cutters on the right, which had, during the whole action, most gallantly remained in their station, although exposed to a body of the enemy within half musket shot expressly firing at them, and who had the advantage of a considerable elevation. A corps of French cavalry, posted at the bridge on the Canal of Alexandria, to protect the right flank of their lines, and to prevent a movement from the British left, deserve equally to be mentioned, for the steadiness with which it maintained its ground, although the shot plunged constantly into the ranks.

At about ten o'clock A. M. the action ceased; but it was not till the defeat of the French was thus absolutely assured, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had remained in the battery, (where, several times, he had nearly been killed by cannon shot) could be prevailed upon to quit the field: he had continued walking about, paying no attention to his wound, only occasionally complaining of a pain in his breast, from the contusion. Officers, who went to him in the course of the action, returned without knowing, from his manner or appear-

ance, that he had been wounded, and many only ascertained it by seeing the blood trickling down his clothes! At last, his spirit, when exertion was no longer necessary, yielded to nature: he became faint, was placed in a hammock, and borne to the *dépôt*, cheered by the feeling expressions and blessings of the soldiers as he passed! he was then put into a boat, accompanied by his aide-camp and esteemed friend, Sir Thomas Dyer, and carried to Lord Keith's ship.

THE END OF CHAPTER XVIII.

CHAPTER XIX.

*The French Standard taken in the Battle of the 21st...
 The Honour of this Circumstance contested by the 42nd
 Regiment, and a Private in the Minorca....Documents
 respecting it, and the Honour, finally, given to the latter.
 The Victory of the 21st, though important, by no means
 decisive....The favourable consequences of it towards the
 English with regard to Provisions....A Flag of Truce
 sent in to the French Commander of Alexandria, but its
 Proposals rejected....Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie...
 His Character....Honourable Anecdote of General La-
 nusse....General Hutchinson succeeds in the Command...
 His trying Situation....Arrival of the Captain Pacha at
 Aboukir....Attack on Roseita, and its final Conquest.*

SUCH was the honourable and distinguished termination to the British arms of the memorable 21st of March, and which left behind but one cause of regret, the death of the brave man who had led our troops on to victory. But the field of battle proves a common grave alike to the glorious and inglorious; and the philosopher, perhaps, would bid his tears flow as readily for the common soldier, dying bravely, as for the victorious general.

It was in this battle that the French standard was taken, the honour of which has been so strongly contested by different claimants. As an event strongly connected with general and individual honour, and rendered interesting, both from its own nature and the subsequent displeasure shewn by Buonaparté to those who had lost it, we presume it will not be altogether uninteresting to our readers to find here a summary of this affair. Sir Robert Wilson, in his esteemed work, has taken much pains to investigate the business; and, as his account

has not been dissented from, we shall follow him in our details.

The 42nd regiment, and a private of the Minorca, by name Anthony Lutz, claim equally the trophy. Major Stirling first obtained possession of it, when the 42nd so gallantly advanced to relieve the 28th and 58th; this officer gave it to the care of Serjeant Sinclair, who, in the subsequent charge of the French cavalry lost it. When the Minorca advanced to relieve the 42nd, and routed the enemy, the French had recovered the colours; but Lutz, perceiving the standard, advanced from the ranks and fired at the officer who was carrying it, and who was some way behind his men: the officer fell; and Lutz, seizing the standard, re-loaded his piece, and was proceeding to join his regiment, when two dragoons rode at him: he fired, and killed the horse of one, then rushed upon the rider, whose foot was entangled in the stirrup; but the man begging his life, and surrendering his arms, Lutz granted him quarter, and carried the prisoner, with the colours, to his officer, Lieutenant Markoff, who ordered him to head-quarters, where he received the regulated reward. The other dragoon who had rode to attack Lutz, fled, when he saw the horse of his comrade fall. These facts have been properly attested and proved in a court of inquiry, which sat expressly to investigate the affair.

It appears, therefore, that the 42nd were first in possession of the standard; but that Serjeant Sinclair (to whose charge it was entrusted) being wounded, it was afterwards retaken by the French; that Lutz, by an act of great personal bravery, recovered it from the enemy, and bore it in safety to the head-quarters of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. A certificate was, in consequence, granted to Lutz, in testimony of his honourable conduct, and a bounty of twenty dollars on the spot; and, afterwards, it was ordered, that he should wear the representation of a standard, as a mark of his good behaviour, on his left

breast. These badges, commemorative of meritorious services, are admirable methods of rewarding courage, of stimulating to it, and of keeping it alive in the bosom. A man who distinguishes himself, and is merely remunerated with a few pounds, spends his valtry acknowledgement, and forgets his own heroism; at least, it is known only to himself, unless he boast to every one he meets of what he has done: but when he carries perpetually about him an external mark, in memory of his own worth, he not only feels a constant stimulus to preserve the name he has acquired, but he continually reads, in the looks and words of others, the gratifying acknowledgement of his own worthiness, without being compelled to ask for praise by a verbal relation of his deeds. If there be a thing on earth capable of generating courage in the human bosom, it would be the ambition of acquiring a distinctive and honourable badge. General Reynier, with the accustomed indifference to truth which is characteristic of his countrymen, states, that the battalion to which these colours belonged was composed chiefly of Copts.—“But,” says Sir Robert Wilson, very pertinently, “how Copts came to carry a standard on which *Le passage de la Serivia*; *Le passage du Tagliamento*; *Le passage de l’Isonzo*; *La prise de Grätz*; *Le pont de Lodi*, are inscribed, General Reynier can only explain.”

The loss of the English in this action, was six officers and 293 men killed; 60 officers and 1,190 men wounded; three officers and 29 men missing. The English tents were torn to pieces by the shot, and thousands of brass cannon-balls were glistening in the sand.

The conduct of every individual in the British army was distinguished on this memorable day; and, among those who most conspicuously signalized themselves, praise seems, unanimously, to be awarded to General Moore; his exertions, personal courage, and ability, contributed much to the success of the day, and enhanced that character which his former brilliant services ac-

quired him: wounded, early in the action, through the leg, he refused to quit the field, and continued in an activity almost beyond belief, when the nature of such a wound is considered.

The conduct of the troops cannot but excite wonder in military men, of whatever nation they may be: surrounded, partly broken, without ammunition, still to continue the contest, and remain conquerors, is an extraordinary evidence of intrepidity, discipline, and inherent conduct. The British service may not only pride itself on that day for the battle gained, but as it serves for the groundwork of future glory, and, if its details are properly impressed, must universally diffuse instruction and confidence in danger.

It is however, universally admitted, that our success would have been doubtful but for the palpable misconduct of Menou: his arrangements were so frequently inconsiderate, and his whole conduct so indecisive, that it afforded many opportunities to a prudent and watchful enemy.

But notwithstanding the importance of this victory it by no means decided the fate of Egypt: not an inch of territory was acquired; the French still retained their position, and had an army considerably more numerous than the British in the country; indeed, calculating the mutual losses by an inverse ratio, their strength had increased by the diminution of the previous inferior number of their enemy: yet one immediate benefit resulting, independent, of the confidence it inspired in the troops, was the impression made on the inhabitants and Bedouin Arabs, thousands of whom had witnessed the battle, and such a battle as their fathers never recorded to them. The market was immediately supplied with every article, and a direct communication established with the interior; still, however, the army was obliged to live on salt pork, as the troops did not choose, although an allowance was offered to them for their rations, to trust to

the supply of fresh meat, and the commissary dare not undertake it. Its duties were very severe: by night the outposts were strong, and the whole laid with their accoutrements on, always turning out at three o'clock in the morning. The day was occupied in bringing the provisions from the *depôt*, dragging guns, ammunition, wood, &c.; and all this was necessarily, done by men's labour: the camp was being regular fortified, and batteries and lines raised wherever they could add to its strength. In digging many curious antiquities were found, and particularly cisterns, baths, &c. one of which was so perfect as to have the pipe which conducted the water remaining, and the water-mark of its dripping perfectly discernible!

On the evening of the 23rd of March Sir Sidney Smith went with a flag of truce to the outposts, and demanded to be admitted to the commandant of Alexandria. Whilst the officer sent an express to his head-quarters a conversation commenced between him and the soldiers, respecting their situation and the affair of the 21st; from which it appeared that they by no means fought for Egypt because they wished to continue in the country; indeed, they pitied the English, who had now so fair a prospect of possessing it. The affair of the 21st they regretted as most fatal, and particularly to a number of principal officers; amongst those since dead of their wounds, they mentioned Generals Lanusse* and Bodet; they further stated, that General Menou had his horse shot under him, and that most of the officers of his staff had been wounded.

The answer having returned, that no person could be allowed to pass the outposts, Sir Sidney Smith sent in his

* We find an honourable anecdote recorded of this officer. Being very severely wounded in the thigh, the bone of which was shattered, he was told, that, in order to save his life, he must submit to an amputation. To this operation the general refused his consent; saying, "I do not wish to survive this disgraceful day." A mortification ensued, and he died a few days after.

Letter as from Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lord Keith, proposing an evacuation of Egypt to the French, by which they might return to France without being considered prisoners of war, but that their shipping, artillery, &c. should be surrendered to the English: this Letter was addressed purposely to the commander of Alexandria. The next morning General Friant returned a note, in which he expressed great surprise that such an offer, so disrespectful to the Army of the East and himself, should be made, since circumstances by no means warranted the proposal, and that the French were determined to defend Egypt to the last extremity.

On the 25th of March the Captain Pacha, with 6,000 men, arrived in the Bay of Aboukir, and the next day landed, and encamped at a little distance from the beach. Near them were laying the remains of 4,000 of their countrymen, who had perished two years before. The corruption of that field of battle was still intolerable; almost wherever a horse trod the impression of the hoof laid bare some corpse, with the cloths still on!

On the 29th Sir Sidney Smith, accompanied by Major Montresor, and Isaac Bey, a character well known, from his long residence in Russia, France, England, &c. and a man of superior talents, went with a flag of truce to the outposts, as on the part of the Captain Pacha, Lord Keith, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie; being refused admittance into the town, they were, at last, obliged to send in their dispatch, to which no answer was ever received.

It was on the morning of this day that the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was known; he had borne painful operations with great firmness, but the ball could not be extracted. At length a mortification ensued, and he died on the evening of the 28th, having always expressed the greatest solicitude for the army, and irritating his mind, from the first moment, with the anxiety to resume his command. His loss was a severe one; his death universally

mourned: he was beloved by the troops for his kindness and attention to their welfare, and his courage was their pride and example. His age, combined with his services, exertions, and manners, rendered him an object of enthusiastic admiration. General, afterwards Lord, Hutchinson, paid a just and affectionate tribute to his memory, in the following and well known words:

“ Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person: but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.”

Sir Ralph Abercrombie had endeared himself to his family by the habitual practice of every relative and social duty; by the amiableness of his manners, the tenderness of his affections, the simplicity and integrity of his life. No man ever felt more deeply the awful responsibility attached to a commander-in-chief. “ These victories,” replied Sir Ralph, (being congratulated on his successes) “ make me melancholy.” He considered war as a solemn, though a trying duty; and regarded victory of no value, but as it tended to promote the interests and the repose of society. Such a character deserves at once praise and admiration, and must be reckoned among the highest benefactors of mankind.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command now devolved, found himself succeeding to a situation, unexpectedly, under circumstances the most unfavourable. The previous victories must have inspired hopes in England and Europe, nay, almost positive confidence, of the success of the expedition, if common prudence directed the operations; and Egypt, after the battle of the 21st, he was aware, would be considered as conquered. His trophies could probably, therefore, be few, whilst his re-

sponsibility was great; he saw, however that the campaign was but commenced, assuredly, with favourable auspices, but no decided superiority. A greater army than his own was still to be combated, strong places to be taken, climate to be endured, supplies to be obtained from the interior, communications to be established with the Vizier and the Indian army; and, independently of these formidable difficulties, the plague, and other diseases, menaced to reduce his force. Lord Keith also assured him, that, after October, he could no longer remain on the coast with the shipping, on account of the weather and state of the vessels.

To abandon the enterprise was infamy, to complete it with glory a precarious prospect; an attack on Alexandria was too desperate an enterprise to be undertaken; but to remain inert was impossible; the fleet wanted water, the troops fresh provisions; he, therefore, determined to make an effort, which, if successful, might procure the possession of Rosetta and command of the Nile. The 58th and 40th flank companies, with a detachment of Homspech's hussars, consisting of thirty men, and eight pieces of cannon, were spared for this service. With this corps 4,000 Turks, who had arrived with the Captain Pacha, and now put under the orders of the Caia Bey, were destined to act. Colonel Spencer commanded the whole. On the 2nd of April the corps marched for Aboukir, where it was to cross the ferry and join the Turks.

On the 10th of April Rosetta was captured. Colonel Spencer, having passed his army across the two ferries, had proceeded on the 7th to Edko, keeping his right upon the lake, and only detaching patrols along the beach of the sea, by which he also avoided the melancholy sight of the number of dead bodies, thrown overboard from the hospital ships, and which the sea had, unhappily yielded up again. He arrived at Edko without opposition. The Turks, however, had given him much uneasiness.

ness: as they kept, by way of amusement, firing constantly in the air with ball. On the morning of the 8th the army arrived before Rosetta, after a painful march across the Desert; where, frequently, in the hollows of the ground, the air was so hot as to excite the sensation of the vertigo, and where, from the mirage, it seemed a lake of water, reflecting even the shade of the date trees; an extraordinary deception, which no reasoning or strength of sight could remove. The French, to the number of 800 men, were drawn up in front of Aboumandour, a very high sandhill above the Nile, to the Southward of Rosetta, on which was an old tower; but, as Colonel Spencer approached, the greater part passed across the Nile in dgerms, ready for the purpose, and the remainder retreated towards El Hamed; that body which had crossed the river drew up on the bank, and remained so posted until two guns were brought up and fired at them, which killed and wounded several men. Colonel Spencer then detached the Queen's and 500 Arnauts, to occupy Rosetta and blockade Fort St. Julien, while he proceeded with the main body to El Hamed.

The position of El Hamed was remarkably strong, the right being on the lake, the left on the Nile, and the highest banks of a canal in Egypt running along the front: but it must be understood, that these canals are not like those of Europe, as they have no water in them except at high Nile, the level of the country forming their bed, and the banks being raised above it. They may properly be called canals of irrigation.

When the army first arrived on the banks of the Nile, a dgerm was seen sailing up it from Rosetta, in which was the commandant: a great number of shots were fired at him, but he persevered and escaped.

The easy conquest of Rosetta was an object of astonishment. It had been considered so important an acquisition, that its capture was deemed very precarious: indeed, Colonel Spencer's instructions were, to abandon

the enterprise if he met with serious resistance. The French, had they suspected this movement, might have passed a corps round Lake Maadie, and, leaving a post at Beda, advanced on the isthmus between that lake and Lake Edko, thus intercepting his retreat, while an attack in front would have placed him in a desperate situation; and, had there been an enterprising partisan employed, he might have made much advantage afterwards of that movement, and considerably distressed the English, by destroying the ferry, bridge, &c. &c.; and this occasion offered until the 21st of May, when Beda was occupied by 450 men of the Coldstream, and the 3rd Guards, 20 dragoons, with four pieces of cannon.

This negligence, however, was only one of the many oversights committed by the French during this campaign. It should seem as if the errors of Menou were infectious, and spread themselves with fatal rapidity, through every corner of the camp. Perhaps, indeed, an easier and a more natural solution of these blunders may be discovered: the army began to be heartily tired of their situation; they regarded themselves as abandoned to their destiny, and longed to return to their native country. No longer under the guidance, no longer held in awe by the stern severity of Buonaparté, they relaxed from their discipline, and lost their ardor for glory: the impulse had died away by the desertion of Buonaparté and the murder of Kleber; and, anxious only to quit an inhospitable climate, they half favoured their own defeats by the unskillfulness which they voluntarily adopted.

CHAPTER XX.

General Hutchinson determines to proceed with his Operations....A Letter from Murad Bey...The Death of this extraordinary Man, and his Character, by General Reynier....Reinforcement of Turkish Cavalry...Capture of Rahmanich, and its Effect upon the French Army....The great Responsibility attached to General Hutchinson....His Doubts and Anxiety whether to proceed towards Cairo or fall back upon Alexandria....Finally determines upon the former....Capture of a rich Convoy of Dgerms....The French resolve to attack the Grand Vizier before his Junction with the English Army....Battle of El Hanka, and the Defeat of the French....Dreadful Sirocco....Junction of the two Armies....General Hutchinson advances towards and invests Cairo....A Flag of Truce sent out, and Capitulation proposed.

THE facility with which Rosetta had been taken, as well as St. Julien, inspired well founded hopes, and General Hutchinson determined to press on his operations against the interior. On the 23rd of April, therefore, he sent the Quarter Master General and his staff, and on the 26th himself arrived at Rosetta, having, on his way, paid a visit to the Captain Pacha in Aboukir Bay, who had returned on board of his ship.

Towards the latter end of April a messenger arrived from Murad Bey, with an answer to a Letter sent from the English Commander-in-chief, accompanied by the Grand Signior's firman and the Captain Pacha's guarantee of protection. Our readers will recollect, that, previously to the arrival of the English, the Grand Vizier had endeavoured to open a negotiation for peace with Menou, and had chosen Murad Bey as the mediator; but the haughty and self-sufficient conduct of Menou was the

means of rendering the advances of the Vizier nugatory. Murad Bey, by this messenger, assured the English general, that, if his army advanced towards Cairo, he would join him; but observed he dare not make a decisive motion previously; and, in a Letter to Sir Sidney Smith, he says, "How can I be attached to the French? have they not deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, and revenues? but it is on the English faith alone I can depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence. Alluding to the hostility of the Turks against him, and the unnatural inveteracy of people who professed the same faith; he beautifully expresses himself, "Melancholy is it to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing was an arrow made of an eagle's feather!"

Shortly after this period advice was received of his death. He had been seized with the plague whilst gradually descending the Nile, to join the English, three days before his decease, and expired on the 22nd of April. On his death-bed he charged Osman Bey Tambourgi, (so named from having originally been a drummer among the Mamelukes) whom he had recommended as his successor, to attach himself to the English. The Beya and Mamelukes regretted the death of this extraordinary man sincerely; and, when they buried him at Shouague, near Tahta, they paid the compliment to his valour, of breaking his sabre into his grave, as an expression, that no one else was worthy of wearing his arms.

"Murad Bey," says General Reynier, "was no ordinary man; he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues and the weaknesses which attached to that point of civilization the Mamelukes are arrived at. Abandoned to all the impetuosity of his passions, in his first emotions he was terrible; but his vehemence frequently subsided in an extreme weakness. Gifted by nature with that ascendancy of character which marks man for empire, he possessed the instinct to command without any knowledge of the duties of a governor. Prodigal and rapacious, he

lavished on all his friends, and then oppressed the people to supply his own wants. To these general traits must be added an extraordinary strength of body, a courage not to be daunted, and a confidence superior to misfortune, which, never, for a moment, deserted him in all the numerous crisis of his distracted life."

The loss of such a man may be considered as an essential drawback upon the prosperous circumstances of our arms. It is hardly possible to calculate the degree of advantage that might have been drawn from an ally of his character, acquainted with the natural resources of the country, and endeared to its inhabitants by so many estimable qualities.

The main army now continued moving on. On the 7th of May the *Turkish cavalry* arrived, as a reinforcement of the British forces. These troops were not real Turks, but Syrians, almost naked, many without arms, beyond belief miserably mounted, totally undisciplined, even to savage wildness! Such a reinforcement (and their force did not exceed 600 men) offered no great advantage, yet was not to be rejected. The Captain Pacha was vexed, particularly at the defalcation of their numbers.

On the 9th of May the English army reached Rahmanieh, which, after a severe action, surrendered to them, and the enemy retreated to Cairo. The greater part of their flotilla was prevented from escaping by the batteries on the right of the Nile, and became the property of the victors. The loss of Rahmanieh, it is said, deeply affected the French. By this event Alexandria was insulated, and the end for which Rahmanieh had been occupied by Menou, the command of the Delta, and the landing of the troops under Gantheaume, appeared no longer attainable. The loss of the British in this affair amounted to four officers wounded, six men killed, and nineteen wounded; the Turks suffered more considerably. The French lost about one hundred men.

About this period, General Menou, who remained at Alexandria, became more and more jealous of the other officers. The loss of Rahmanieh raised great murmurs through the army against him, who, having steadily persisted in the impossibility of the event, had concerted no measures to provide for its consequences. These murmurs reached his ear, together with expressions of the esteem and confidence with which the troops distinguished General Reynier. The report, at that time in circulation, that this general was appointed to the command of the army, and General Menou restricted to the civil administration of Egypt, augmented his jealousy; which was the more violent, because he could not disguise from himself that General Reynier had foretold the successive disasters of the army, and pointed out the means of preventing them. He thenceforth resolved to banish him; he was conveyed, forcibly, on board a vessel, ready to sail for Europe, and where he also found General Damas; Daure, principal Commissary; Boyer, Adjutant-commandant, and several other officers. General Reynier wrote an expostulatory letter to Menou, full of bitterness and invective.

The battle of Rahmanieh was an event of more ultimate than immediate importance: much yet remained to be done. The French had retired, and, though repulsed, were not weakened: their concentrated force from Cairo might always advance; they had lost a position, yet still possessed the capital, and principal fortress of the country.

Every thing, therefore, now depended upon the movements of General Hutchinson; whether he should move onwards towards Cairo, or fall back upon Alexandria. There were many reasons for and against either measure; the popular opinion was for the latter, for the fatigues of advancing further into the country were dreaded. Besides, it was argued, that, should Cairo be conquered,

still Egypt would not be ours, while the French had possession of Alexandria: while, on the contrary, if the latter were taken, Cairo must, eventually, capitulate.

These various objections distracted, for some time, the mind of the Commander-in-chief; he was fully aware of the truth of the last argument, but still he was unable to conceive he could successfully attack Alexandria while General Belliard's army remained in force; he dreaded also the difficulties which were to be surmounted by the troops under his command: but, at last, he decided that the movement was indispensable. "My natural habits and present state of health," said he, "would persuade me not to attempt a march where such exertion must be necessary, and in which, probably, I shall fall a sacrifice to the climate; but my duty to my king and country, and the gallant men who have been employed in this expedition, determine me to undertake it. If I succeed, great will be my satisfaction to find that my capacity did not betray their interests; if I fail, the consciousness of integrity, and the most ardent devotion for their glory and welfare, will support me in retirement." In this decision General Hutchinson remained fixed, though considerable opposition was made to it.

The entrenched camp of Rhamanieh was given up to the Turks, who left a garrison of about 300 men in the fort.

About this time a convoy of dgerms, coming from Cairo by Lake Menouf, ignorant of the retreat of General Legrance from Rahmanieh, fell into the possession of the English, with 150 prisoners, and several guns, intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy was extremely valuable, consisting of clothing, wine, spirits, stores, and nearly five thousand pounds in money.

When the Mamelukes took possession of Cairo, after the battle of Heliopolis, they rendered a most important service to the Vizier, by recalling the French from the pursuit of his flying forces and employing them in the

reduction of that city: his army being thus preserved from absolute dispersion was permitted to recruit at Jaffa: but here it immoveably remained; the Vizier having resolved not to move a step to the assistance of the English till, in fact, they had conquered for themselves: it was not, therefore, until informed of the brilliant success of his allies, and aided by their artillery and officers, that he was induced to march, at the head of 23,000 men, with whom he reached Belbeis on the 7th of May, and immediately threw up intrenchments. Numbers, who only waited to ascertain whether this army would pass the Desert unmolested, convinced of their security, now flocked to his standard. The French forces at Cairo, under General Belliard, being, about this time, strengthened by the junction of General Legrange from Rahmanieh, it was resolved to defeat the Vizier before the arrival of the Anglo-Turkish army, commanded by General Hutchinson: nearly 5,000 infantry and 900 cavalry, chiefly from Rahmanieh, were selected for the execution of this design. Had the French been permitted to make an attack on such a rabble as the Turkish army, which they would have done, and probably in the night, their defeat would have been certain; Major Holloway, Major Hope, of the artillery, and other English officers who were present, therefore persuaded the Vizier to anticipate an attack by making one.

On the 15th of May his Highness the Grand Vizier received intelligence that the enemy were in full march from Cairo on the road towards Belbeis. The Vizier, after it was dark, ordered Tahir Bashaw, with 3,000 cavalry and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them, and, if a favourable opportunity should offer during the obscurity of the night, to attack; but, if not, to impede their march as much as possible. About ten o'clock at night they met, three leagues from the Ottoman camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning,

at which time Tahir Bashaw commenced an attack: he was, soon after, reinforced by 1,500 cavalry. It was now found that the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4,000 infantry; the Vizier, therefore, ordered Mahomed Bashaw to move forward with 5,000 men, cavalry and Albanian infantry, and nine light field-pieces: (the French had eight-pounders in the field.) The other English officers, besides Major Holloway and Major Hope, were Captain Lacey, of the Royal Engineers, and Captain Leake, of the Royal Artillery: Captain Lacey accompanied Mahomed Bashaw, and Captain Leake Tahir Bashaw. Each of these officers received their orders from Major Holloway, remaining still near the person of the Vizier; who, after sending forward his advanced guard, came up himself and took the command. Major Hope was with the artillery.

The enemy moved into a wood of date trees, where they were attacked by the Turkish cavalry and infantry with great spirit for three hours; when, retiring from the wood, they took a position on the left, their left flanked by a wood, and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanese infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and in this situation galled them much; and, on the Turks threatening their right, the French changed their position and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of Turkish cavalry, who gained the summit: in this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced on the occasion. At this time the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El Hanka, a distance of not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The Grand Vizier, who commanded his troops with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue them any further.

The affair lasted seven hours; but, although there was much firing, still the loss, as stated, was inconsiderable:

yet it is not by the number of killed and wounded that the importance of this battle is to be estimated; but it must be considered as discomfiting the projects of the French, rendering the surprising efforts of their march a useless exertion, elevating the spirit of the Turks, and inspiring confidence among their friends in Cairo and the country.

While this passed on the side of Cairo, Fort Lesbeh surrendered to a detachment from the Vizier's army. These successes re-animated the drooping energy of the Vizier, and taught him to confide in the spirit and genius of his allies; (for it must be remembered, that the disposition of the Turkish army, the order of march, and all their movements, were arranged by Major Holloway:) he, and all the British officers present, very much distinguished themselves by their exertions, and the Vizier was sensible of their merits. General Reyneir, with his usual perversion, augments the Vizier's army with five hundred English artillery; thus clothing twenty-nine men with five hundred buckram jackets!

The consequences of this victory were eminently favourable to the Allied Powers: those who consider how easily men are depressed and how easily exalted, and how much depends upon the state of internal conviction with which armies go to battle, will fully appreciate the effect of the victory at El Hanka upon the minds of the Turks; a race of men once renowned in arms, and, even now, mindful of their high character, fatalists too, and, therefore, as easily sunk and elevated as children.

The inhabitants of Cairo saw the French return baffled and dejected; they beheld the Ottomans pursuing, and their crescent triumphant as far as Heliopolis, where the Grand Vizier, who had distinguished himself in the action, passed the night in the full pride of victory. The lucky termination of this battle relieved General Hutchinson from his anxiety, and secured a freedom of operations.

On the 23d, General Hutchinson being desirous to hold a conference with the Grand Vizier, that the future plan of operations might be arranged, left the camp, with the Captain Pacha, and went in his barge by the Canal of Menouf. This day was memorable for a Sirocco wind, which darkened with a burning mist the atmosphere: the thermometer was at 120 in the shade; the ground was heated like the floor of a furnace! every thing that was metallic, such as arms, buttons, knives, &c. became burning hot: the poultry exposed to the air, and several horses and camels, died; respiration was difficult, and the lungs were parched with the fiery particles! Had the heat continued forty-eight hours the effects would have been dreadful; but, happily, as night drew on, the wind cooled, and, at last, changed to the North-west,

General Hutchinson continued in his resolution of advancing towards Cairo: he was now joined by his Turkish allies, and they continued their painful and adventurous progress with various delays and obstructions: it was not till the 20th of June that he arrived at Embabeh, before Gizeh.

The General had intended to change the front of the army and take up an oblique position, so as to approach with his right nearer the point of attack, when, on the 22nd of June, early in the morning, a French officer, from Giza, with a flag of truce, was brought in to the General, by Captain Taylor. He came from General Belliard, to require that an English officer might be sent to a conference, he proposed. The General consented, and he sent to know of what rank the officer should be. The answer was returned, That, as the matter to be discussed was of the highest importance, it was requested that a general officer might be sent: General Hope was, therefore, named, who met a French colonel of engineers (Touissard) near Giza, and staid with him a long time.

The next morning, by agreement, General Morau and General Hope met under the trees near Giza: three tents

were pitched for them and their attendants: a guard of honour, composed of grenadiers and cavalry, attended each.

General Belliard had, at first, proposed that each party should have an armed escort: but General Hutchinson answered, That, between the troops of civilized nations such a precaution could not be necessary: a reply which handsomely maintained the dignity of his allies.

THE END OF CHAP. XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

Reasons for granting a Capitulation to Cairo....Conferences upon this Subject, and final Arrangements....The French evacuate the different Forts and the Town of Cairo Convention signed between the respective Generals....The Terms granted by the British too lenient....The solemn Scene of removing Kleber's Coffin, to convey it to France....Kleber's Resolution with regard to Buonaparté....Total Evacuation of the French, and their March towards Rosetta, for Embarkation.

IT may, perhaps, appear singular, that, ere a blow was struck---ere any preparations, even for an attack, were made, proposals for capitulation should be made. But the situation of the French army at Cairo was extremely precarious: they could not effect a retreat, neither were they able to defend Cairo, their ammunition being nearly exhausted, their treasury empty, and provisioned only till the middle of July: every motive of prudence, therefore, seemed to demand a surrender; and never, surely, was a congress more interesting, in the presence of such an army, composed of the troops of so many nations, on such remarkable ground, and on so important a subject.

General Moran unequivocally declared, That the object of his instructions was the evacuation of Cairo and the return of that garrison to France; and to arrange which, General Hope, on the part of the English; Isaac Bey, on the part of the Captain Pacha; Mohammed Pacha, for the Vizier; and Osman Bey, for the Mamelukes, were appointed: and on the part of the French, General Douzelot, and Colonel Tarayre, *chef-de-brigade*, were the negotiators. Captain Taylor officiated as secretary.

Late in the evening the conferences broke up, when

cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours was proclaimed. The reason assigned for so long an armistice was, the representation made by General Moran, that General Belliard was obliged to call a council of war, which it was difficult to assemble, from the severity of the duty of the superior officers.

The conferences, notwithstanding, proceeded: on the 24th the line of demarcation was settled: but it required considerable exertion to enforce the preservation of it by the Grand Vizier's army. The French, aware of the difficulty, had stipulated that a British officer should accompany the superior officer of his Highness's army, who might be named, to take up the line of outposts. In consequence of this arrangement the Tibbidy Pacha and Major Birch met General Almeyras, who endeavoured to impress on the Turks the necessity of maintaining the boundaries prescribed, by forewarning them of the disagreeable consequences which must ensue from their encroachment on the French line.

On the 26th the Definitive Articles were agreed to, and on the morning of the 27th the Capitulation was signed, but the articles were not published to the English army until a copy, printed and circulated, by General Belliard, was obtained from Cairo: an arrangement, not made public, was, however, stipulated, that the French troops, embarked in men of war, were to give up their arms to the custody of the captain during the passage.

The Turks made much opposition to Madame Meïou's leaving Egypt, and the General was obliged decidedly to assure them that he would protect her person.

On the 28th of June the fort of Soulkowfshi was taken possession of by the 30th regiment, and the Gate of Giza, by the grenadiers of the line and a detachment of the body guards of the Captain Pacha: a compliment paid by General Belliard to him individually, as the French had expressly stipulated that no Turks were to take possession of the forts.

The same day Colonel Paget was sent as a hostage to the French, and they sent Colonel Llanglois to the British camp; an officer of the same rank to the Vizier; and Colonel Pouissard to the Captain Pacha.

The commissioners after-named having met and conferred, after the exchange of their respective powers, agreed upon the following Articles.

CONVENTION

Of the Evacuation of Egypt by the French and Auxiliary Troops, under the Command of the General of Division, BELLIARD; concluded between Brigadier General HOPE, on the Part of the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the British Army in Egypt; OSMAN BEY, on the Part of his Highness the GRAND VIZIER, and ISAAC BEY, on the Part of his Highness the CAPTAIN PACHA; the Citizens DOUGELOT, General of Brigade, MORAU, General of Brigade; and TARAYRE, Chief of Brigade, on the Part of the General of Division, BELLIARD, commanding a Body of French and Auxiliary Troops.

ART. I. THE French force, of every description, and the auxiliary troops, under the command of the general of division, Belliard, shall evacuate the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts of Boulac, Gizeh, and all that part of Egypt which they now occupy.

ART. II. The French and auxiliary troops shall retire by land to Rosetta, proceeding by the left bank of the Nile, with their arms, baggage, field artillery, and ammunition, to be there embarked, and conveyed to the French ports of the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, at the expense of the Allied Powers. The embarkation of the said French and auxiliary troops shall take place as soon as possible; but, at the latest, within fifteen days from the date of the ratification of the present Convention. It is also agreed, that the said troops shall be conveyed to the French ports above mentioned, by the most direct and expeditious route.

ART. III. From the date of the signature, and ratification of the present Convention, hostilities shall cease on both sides. The fort of ———, and the Gate of the Pyramids, and the Town of Gizeh, shall be delivered up to the Allied Army. The line of the advanced posts of the army, respectively, shall be fixed by commissioners named for this purpose; and the most positive orders shall be given, that these shall not be encroached upon, in order to avoid all disputes; and, if any shall arise, they are to be determined in an amicable manner.

ART. IV. Twelve days after the ratification of the present Con-

vention, the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts, and the town of Boulac, shall be evacuated by the French and auxiliary troops, who will retire to Ibrahim Bey, the Isle of Rhoden, and its dependencies; the Fort of Fourcroy and Gizah, from whence they shall depart as soon as possible, and, at the latest, in five days, to proceed to the points of embarkation. The generals commanding the British and Ottoman armies, consequently, engage that means shall be furnished, at their charge, for conveying the French auxiliary troops as soon as possible from Gizah.

ART. V. The march and encampment of the French and auxiliary troops shall be regulated by the generals of the respective armies, or by the officers named by each party; but it is clearly understood, that according to this article, the days of march and encampment shall be fixed by the generals of the combined Armies; and consequently, the said French, and auxiliary troops, shall be accompanied on their march by English and Turkish commissaries, instructed to furnish the necessary provisions during the continuance of their route.

ART. VI. The baggage, ammunition, and other articles transported by water, shall be escorted by French detachments, and by armed boats belonging to the Allied Powers.

ART. VII. The French and auxiliary troops shall be subsisted, from the period of their departure from Gizah to the time of their embarkation, conformably to the regulation of the French army; and, from the day of their embarkation to that of their landing in France, agreeably to the naval regulations of England.

ART. VIII. The military and naval commanders of the British and Turkish forces shall provide vessels, for conveying to the French ports of the Mediterranean, the French, and auxiliary troops, as well as all French, and other persons, employed in the service of the army. Every thing relative to this point, as well as in regard to subsistence, shall be regulated by a commissary named for this purpose, by the General of Division Belliard, and by the naval and military commanders in chief of the Allied Forces, as soon as the present Convention shall be ratified. These commissioners shall proceed to Rosetta or Aboukir, in order to make every necessary preparation for the embarkation.

ART. IX. The Allied Powers shall provide four vessels, (or more, if possible) fitted for the conveyance of horses, water-casks, and forage, sufficient for the voyage.

ART. X. The French and auxiliary troops will be provided by the Allied Powers with a sufficient convoy for their safe return to France. After the embarkation of the French troops the Allied Powers pledge themselves, that, to the period of their arrival on the continent of the French Republic, they shall not be molested;

and, on his part, the General of Division, Belliard, and the troops under his command, engage that no act of hostility shall be by them committed, during the said period, against the fleet or territories of his Britannic Majesty, of the Sublime Porte, or of their Allies. The vessels employed in conveying and escorting the said troops, or other French subjects, shall not touch at any other than a French port, except in cases of absolute necessity. The commanders of the British, Ottoman, and French troops, enter, reciprocally, into the like engagements, during the period that the French troops remain in Egypt, from the ratification of the present Convention, to the moment of their embarkation. The General of Division, Belliard, commanding the French and auxiliary troops on the part of his government, engages, that the vessels employed for their conveyance and protection shall not be detained in the French ports after the disembarkation of the troops; and that their commanders shall be at liberty to purchase, at their own expense, the provisions that may be necessary for enabling them to return. General Belliard also engages, on the part of his government, that the said vessels shall not be molested on their return to the ports of the Allied Powers, provided they do not attempt, or are made subservient to any military operations.

ART. XI. All the administrations, the members of the commission of Arts and Sciences, and, in short, every person attached to the French army, shall enjoy the same advantages as the military. All the members of the said administration, and of the Commission of Arts and Sciences, shall also carry with them, not only all the papers relative to their mission, but also their private papers, as well as all other articles which have reference thereto.

ART. XII. All inhabitants of Egypt, of whatever nation they may be, who wish to follow the French troops, shall be at liberty so to do; nor shall their families, after their departure, be molested, or their goods confiscated.

ART. XIII. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion, who may wish to follow the French troops, shall suffer, either in person or property, on account of the Convention he may have entered into with the French during their continuance in Egypt, provided he conforms to the laws of the country.

ART. XIV. The sick, who cannot bear a removal, shall be placed in a hospital, and attended by French medical and other attendants until their recovery, when they shall be sent to France on the same conditions as the troops. The commanders of the Allied armies engage to provide all the articles that may appear really necessary for this hospital: the advances to be made on this account shall be repaid by the French Government.

ART. XV. At the period when the towns and forts mentioned in the present Convention shall be delivered up, commissaries shall be named for receiving the ordnance, ammunition, magazines, papers, archives, plans, and other public effects, which the French shall leave in the possession of the Allied Powers.

ART. XVI. A vessel shall be provided as soon as possible by the naval commanders of the Allied Powers, in order to convey to Toulon, an officer and a commissioner, charged with the conveyance of the present Convention to the French government.

ART. XVII. Every difficulty, or dispute that may arise, respecting the execution of the present Convention, shall be determined in an amicable manner, by commissioners named on each part.

ART. XVIII. Immediately after the ratification of the present Convention, all the English or Ottoman prisoners at Cairo shall be set at liberty; and the Commander-in-chief of the Allied Powers, shall, in like manner, release the French prisoners in their respective camps.

ART. XIX. Officers of rank from the English army, from his Highness, the Supreme Vizier, and from his Highness the Captain Pacha, shall be exchanged for a like number of French officers of equal rank, to serve as hostages for the execution of the present treaty. As soon as the French troops shall be landed in the ports of France, the hostages shall be reciprocally released.

ART. XX. The present Convention shall be carried and communicated by a French officer to General Menou at Alexandria, and he shall be at liberty to accept of it for the French, and auxiliary forces (both naval and military) which may be with him at the above mentioned place, provided his acceptance of it shall be notified to the general commanding the English troops before Alexandria, within ten days from the date of the communication being made.

ART. XXI. The present Convention shall be ratified by the Commander-in-chief, of the respective armies, within twenty-four hours after the signature thereof.

Signed in quadruplicate, at the place of conference between the two armies, on the 27th of June 1801, or at the siege of Jaffar 1216, on the 9th Messidor, ninth year of the French Republic.

(Signed)

J. HOPE, Brigadier General.

OSMAN BEY.

ISAAC BEY.

DONGELAT, General de Brigade.

TARAYRE, Chief de Brigade.

Approved and ratified in the present Convention at Cairo, the 9th Messidor, ninth Year of the French Republic.

(Signed)

BELLIARD, General de Division.

This capitulation crowned the daring march, which General Hutchinson's judgment planned and resolution persevered in. Its conquest secured, and without the most improbable misfortunes, the speedy fall of Alexandria.

Perhaps, however, the terms granted to the French were too lenient. The fatigues, the perils, and hopes of the army, deserved a better reward. They obtained, indeed, a singularly mild capitulation, more like what would be granted to one's own countrymen in a state of rebellion, where humanity, policy, and every consideration would dictate such, than to a foreign and a rancorous enemy. It has been asserted, indeed, that the terms were as hard as we had any right to impose; more especially, when the strength of the garrison of Cairo is considered, for the French commissary, (agreeably to the capitulation) demanded no less than seventeen thousand daily rations! if we add to this the sickly state of the army, the advance of the season, when the Nile overflows, and other considerations, they will be found materially to justify the leniency.

On the 6th of July the Grand Vizier reviewed his army, and the same day General Kleber's coffin was removed from Fort Ibrahim Bey, where it had been deposited; the French army having resolved to carry with them his remains to France. The Vizier arrived at the instant when the French commenced firing their minute guns, which the English artillery were directed to answer. "The French lines," says Sir R. Wilson, presented a gloomy scene of mourning; for, as at the obsequies of General Kleber, real sorrow again agitated every heart. It was not the muffled beat, the trappings of ceremony, the imposing stillness of parade, but the silent manliness of unaffected grief, which diffused the mournful solemnity. Every soldier, as the coffin passed, felt that therein their benefactor's—a father's bones, reposed; a leader, whose intrepidity had been their ad-

miration and example; whose talents had often secured them the victory, and who, in the hour of distress, never abandoned them! the man, who, when Buonaparté deserted them, cheered their desponding spirits by his paternal exhortations, and whose exertions were constantly devoted to their welfare. They dwelt on his purity, they reflected on his fate, and Kleber became deified and adored. Had Buonaparté witnessed this scene, he would have, himself, regretted, perhaps, the exclamation which he made, with indignant pride, when Kleber, wishing to heal up some differences which had existed between them, began his Letter with the fraternal term of, "*Camarade*" — *Camarade! Camarade! Qu'est ce qu'il y a de commun entre Kleber et Moi?*"

"Fortunate it was for Buonaparté that the hand of an assassin deprived Kleber of life, his word was passed, his resolution fixed, to take ample vengeance: nor did personal resentment alone urge him: the public wrong he had also pledged himself to redress, neither would the aggrandizement of his rival have humiliated him by servile obsequiousness and dereliction from his oath."

During the night of the 10th, the French evacuated Cairo, and sent notice of their intention to Colonel Stuart. An arrangement had been previously made, that, when Cairo was taken possession of, which was not expected before the morning of the 11th, a detachment of the Captain Pacha's body-guard should enter also; but, as this early evacuation was not known till very late at night, the Quarter-master-general, who happened to be on the Eastern side, on the emergency of the moment, directed the 39th to march directly, and occupy the citadel. When the Captain Pacha knew this, he was extremely angry, and complained of being deceived, and he could scarcely be pacified by the representation of the circumstances.

On the 14th of July General Hutchinson presented the officers of each English regiment with a puncheon of

Sicilian wine, which proved a most agreeable donation to them, for many had not tasted a drop of any kind since their leaving Alexandria; never, indeed, had an army before been so abstemious, and consequently, so well conducted.

On the 15th, at day-break, the French totally evacuated Gizah, and, with the Allied Army, began their march for Rosetta. General Hutchinson remained at Cairo; not only being ill, but wishing to settle the arrangements for the government of Egypt, and reinstate the Mamelukes, as he was, by treaty, bound to effect.

This march was, perhaps, the most extraordinary ever made: the variety of nations which composed the armies, with all the relative circumstances, rendered it peculiarly interesting.

THE END OF CHAPTER XXI.

CHAPTER XXII.

Intelligence reaches General Hutchinson of the Arrival of General Baird from India....The Strength of his Army....Vexation of Menou when he hears of the Capitulation of Cairo....His Reasons for wishing it to have held out longer....The Army march for Alexandria, and General Hutchinson prepares to besiege that Town....The Fort of Marabou stormed....Summons of General Coote....The Answer, and final Capitulation....Further Operations of the British Army against Cairo....Menou sends his Aide-de-camp and proposes to capitulate....Terms proposed....Corrected by General Hutchinson, and finally agreed on.

ON the 16th of July Lieutenant Budgin arrived from General Baird, with the intelligence of his having reached Cunei, with a division of his army. General Baird had sailed from India in the latter end of the month of December, with the view of co-operating with the army from Europe destined to invade Egypt; and a division of troops from the Cape were ordered to join him in the Red Sea. His object was to land at Suez, and act according to those circumstances he should become acquainted with there; since, at such a distance, no positive operations could have been prescribed: the hope was, however, always entertained that he would arrive in time to assist the European army, even in debarkation, by dividing the French force. Unfortunately, the monsoon had commenced before his entrance into the Red Sea, in the month of April, and it was found impossible to gain his destination: but learning, at Jedda, the successes of the English on the 21st of March, (which intelligence had been transmitted to him by Admiral Blanket) he determined to land at Cossir, and brave the difficulties

of the Desart, in the hopes of affording a considerable support to General Hutchinson and contributing to the final conquest of the country.

On the 8th of June he arrived at Cossir, and found Colonel Murray, the Adjutant-general, who had preceded him, and reached that port, with a very small advanced guard, on the 14th of May; but the greater part of the army was still missing, and none of the troops from the Cape had arrived: anxious, however, to promote the general service, he employed himself in preparing the means for enabling his army to pass the Desart, in which he was assisted by the Vizier's firmans; and, in a short time, he found himself provided with 5,000 camels! Having made the necessary preparations, he set out for Cunei (or Kinnéh) where he arrived on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining divisions; facilitating their passage by establishing posts at the different wells in the Desart and digging others. It was not till the latter end of July that his army had assembled, and, even then, several detachments were missing: the collected force, including the troops from the Cape, amounted to 5,226 rank and file, and was composed of the following regiments and corps:

Royal Artillery.	
Bengal Horse Artillery.	
Ditto, Foot ditto.	
Madras.	
Bombay.	
Royal Engineers.	
Bengal ditto,	} No men.
Madras ditto,	
Bombay ditto,	
Madras Pioneers.	
His Majesty's 8th Light Dragoons.	
10th Foot.	
6th ditto.	
80th ditto.	
86th ditto.	
88th ditto.	

Bengal Volunteers, native Infantry.
 1st Bombay Regiment, ditto.
 7th ditto, ditto.

The respective quotas furnished by the different establishments to which these corps belonged is thus to be divided:

	Men.
East India Company's Artillery, &c. - - - -	448
Ditto, Native Troops - - - - -	1,940
King's Troops - - - - -	2,838
	5,226

To which must be added 271 Officers, of which 53 were Natives:

331 Serjeants.
 125 Drummers.
 440 Lascars.
 276 Servants, not Soldiers.
 572 Public Followers.
 305 Private ditto.

2,320

Which makes a general total of 7,546 persons, including sick, &c.

We have been thus particular and minute, both here and at p. 227, in enumerating the exact number of British forces employed upon this expedition, because General Reynier has amassed such numerous falsehoods upon this point, with a view to rob us of the glory of the campaign, by making it appear as if the French yielded neither to skill, judgment, nor bravery, but merely to an overwhelming superiority of numbers. Connected, therefore, so intimately with national honour and character, even the dry details of the number of drummers and serjeants become interesting, and serve at once to convey a just sense of our own achievements and to defeat the poor malice of our enemies.

General Hutchinson found himself compelled to order General Baird to proceed to Cairo; although he much wished to have allowed of his re-embarkation with his

army, as there were other very important objects for that body of troops to be employed upon: but there was every reason to suppose that the French would attempt to throw strong succours into Egypt, and he did not, therefore, think himself justified in risking the departure of such a considerable force.

Meanwhile the French army who had evacuated Cairo continued on their march towards Rosetta, and, when they arrived at Derout, the French passed the English, in order to be ready for their embarkation. The real effective state of this army was then ascertained, as the principal English officers posted themselves at a narrow pass to see them file by: they could scarcely, however, credit their own sight, when they beheld an army of above 10,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery, and its complement of ammunition, defile before them, independently of the guards, &c. in the dgerms! They then fully felt the wisdom of the Capitulation of Cairo, with all its leniency, when they connected this army with various local difficulties, that the approaching season would produce.

On the 29th of July General Hutchinson (who had received at Cairo the letter announcing his Majesty's high approbation of his conduct, and of his being decorated with the order of the Bath) arrived at Rosetta: he came in a barge provided by the Vizier. The General, on quitting Cairo, conceived that every proper arrangement had been made for the government of Egypt, and he left the Mamelukes impressed with gratitude towards him. His health being extremely bad, he was obliged to go on board Lord Keith's ship, in the hopes of sea air recovering him; and where he proposed to remain until the English army of Cairo joined General Coote before Alexandria.

General Menou had been made acquainted with the surrender of Cairo on the 7th of July: this intelligence he received with the greatest vexation, as he wished

General Belliard to have held out, on three probable chances of relief.—First, The landing of the succours, which Admiral Gantheaume was endeavouring to throw in, might have changed the aspect of affairs. It is true, the Heliopolis corvette had announced, on the 19th of May, that the French fleet had been within 30 leagues of the coast, when a convoy was seen passing, which the French Admiral mistaking for the English fleet, cut his cables and bore away, but his return might still be expected.—Secondly, The negotiations for peace were known to be commenced, and a favourable issue expected to them.—Thirdly, The rising of the Nile was a guarantee, that, beyond a certain period, the siege could not be carried on.

The army from Cairo having joined that before Alexandria, General Hutchinson arrived on the 15th of August, and determined immediately to besiege Alexandria on the Eastern and Western fronts, an army of sixteen thousand effective men being under his command. There had been no possibility to commence operations sooner, for all the boats had been occupied in embarking the French; and as both the corps, to the Eastward and Westward, were to depend on the fleet for daily supplies, two such important objects required their whole service.

On the evening of the 16th, the boats having assembled in the inundation, immediately on the left of the position, the division of the army, in all about 4,000 men, embarked and sailed.

The instructions of the left column were, to storm the Green Hill, on the right of the French line, and on the right to occupy the Nole Hill, about a quarter of a mile in front of the French left, for the object of reconnoitring. General Doyle moved forwards; the 30th regiment directing itself against the work on the left of the Green Hill; the 50th to that on the right; and the 92nd had orders to remain in reserve at an intermediate point, at the base of the Nile.

Very little opposition was made, and the troops took possession of the works, which proved open batteries, the artillery of which had been previously removed.

General Moore had also advanced on the right, and occupied, with the Lowestein Chasseurs, the Nole Hill: the resistance he had met with was also trifling, although the French were on the *alerte* during the night, from a cannonade which was kept up from the Pharos against some English boats standing in close to the harbour.

As soon, however, as the French found their picquets attacked, fearing a general assault, they beat to arms, and immediately began a heavy fire from their works, which continued, without intermission, three hours.

At seven o'clock a body of French, to the amount of 600, unexpectedly, appeared on the right of their position, whence they advanced rapidly against the Green Hill and the post partially possessed by the 30th.

General Coote had wished to disembark between Marabou and Alexandria; but, perceiving a corps of the enemy on that part of the isthmus, he left, opposite to them, General Finch's brigade, to make a feint, while he stood on with the remainder about three miles farther, where, without any opposition, he landed.

A position was immediately taken up to cover the siege of Marabou. In the night of the 18th General Coote having, with the unremitting exertions of the officers of artillery, established two batteries with mortars, and three 24-pounders in them, against Fort Marabou, directed the bombardment to commence. The celerity with which the guns had been brought up was a remarkable effort of zeal, as they had to be carried over almost inaccessible rocks, in which vast quarries were hewn out, as is supposed, for the building of the ancient Alexandria.

The breadth of the isthmus from the lake to Marabou is about half a mile; the Islet of Marabou is situated at the Western extremity of the harbour, and, commanding one of the channels, is separated from the continent by

a reef of rocks, of a hundred and fifty yards in extent, which, except directly in the centre, is fordable.

The French had constructed a very strong regular fort on this islet, round a tower, formerly a mosque; but the length of the islet not being above three hundred yards, and its breadth one hundred and fifty, shot could sweep over the whole. About 12 o'clock on the day of the 20th, the tower of Marabou fell. As the fall of the tower might be supposed, probably, to have filled up the ditch of the fort, and, in that case, rendered an assault practicable, four companies of the 54th were ordered to be in readiness for that service; and, at the same time, General Coote, wishing to spare the effusion of blood, sent Colonel Duncan with the following Summons to the French Commandant, who, at first, hesitated to capitulate; but, on Colonel Duncan's representing to him the certain fate which awaited his garrison, if he refused to surrender, and, particularly, as he could not regularly defend the place, he, at last, consented.

SUMMONS OF THE FORT OF MARABOU:

Camp, 21st, Aug. 1801.

"SIR,

"As, after the event of this day, and the means employed against the fort you command, there remain no hopes of your being able to defend it, or even to retire into Alexandria; I summon you, in the name of Humanity, to surrender on the terms which shall be granted you; otherwise you will be answerable for all the consequences that may ensue; being determined to employ the whole of the British and Ottoman forces under my command to compel you to surrender."

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) "EYRE COOTE, Major General."

"To the Officer commanding Fort Marabou."

To this was returned the following

ANSWER:

Fort Marabou, 3rd Fructidor, Aug. 9th, (1801.)

"SIR,

"I HAVE the honour to lay before you the Terms of Capitulation, which the garrison of Marabou require; and, from the generosity

which characterises your nation, I promise myself that you will agree to them.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

" ETIENNE."

CAPITULATION OF THE FORT OF MARABOU.

ART. I. THE garrison demand to march out with the honours of war.—Answer. The garrison shall march out with the honours of war, and, after having grounded their arms on the glacis, shall be prisoners of war.

ART. II. They shall preserve their baggage.—Answer. Granted.

ART. III. The officers shall have their swords and sabres.—Answer. Granted.

ART. IV. The garrison shall be conveyed into France, and treated, during the voyage, each agreeably to his rank, conformably to the maritime laws of England.—Answer. Answered by the first article; the garrison shall be conveyed to France, but shall not serve till they are exchanged.

ART. V. Such individuals as may have effects at Alexandria shall have full permission to bring them away.—Answer. Granted, with the restrictions that shall be made with the officers commanding the land and sea forces of England.

ART. VI. An officer shall be sent from the garrison to the Commander-in-Chief, to communicate to him the present Capitulation.—Answer. A French officer shall be sent to Alexandria by sea. A détachment of British forces shall take possession of the Fort of Marabou, immediately after the Ratification of the present Capitulation. The garrison shall march out to-morrow morning, and, after having deposited their arms on the glacis, shall be embarked in English vessels.

Done at Fort Marabou, the 3rd Fructidor, the 9th Year of the French Republic.

(Signed)

ETIENNE, the Chief of Battalion.

Ratified, conformably to the person delegated to me by Major General Coote, and Captain Cochrane of the Royal Navy.

(Signed)

CHRIS. DARBY, Lieut. 54th Regt.

The fort, when taken possession of, was found in ruins, the tower had filled up one ditch; yet still the assault would have been difficult, for another deep ditch crossed the islet, and the works were very strong. The number of cannon taken in the place amounted to ten pieces, all of which were indented with the musquetry of the 54th. The number of prisoners was 168.

On the morning of the 23rd General Hutchinson passed over to the Westward, in order to examine the state of the fortifications on that side; as he was returning in the evening to his camp, the French fired a few shot at his boat, without effect. In the evening of the 24th, an aid-de-camp of General Menou, brought in a Letter, addressed to General Hutchinson. As this was the first communication General Menou had ever permitted by land, the supposition was universal that he wished to surrender. The Letter proved to be only complimentary, for the humanity shewn to his wounded officers and soldiers, a recommendation of the garrison of Marabou to a brave and loyal army; concluding with a request for the admission of his brother-in-law into Alexandria, and some trunks, belonging to his wife. This Letter, although not containing the expected intelligence, was considered, with confidence, as a preliminary.

Various movements were made by different parts of the British army; that under the command of General Coote was particularly active after the capture of Fort Marabou. On the morning of the 26th the English batteries at the eastward side on the Green Hill opened against the right of the French position, particularly playing against the small redoubt which covered the bridge, and the right battery of the line, which exposed seven embrasures, whilst, at the same time, the English gun-boats attacked them in the flank. The French fire was soon silenced; and, about mid-day, finding that they had withdrawn their guns, the English batteries ceased to play.

An interesting accident happened early this morning. An old man, working on the parapet of a redoubt, was struck by a cannon-ball, which took off both his legs: he fell into the arms of his own son, a corporal in the same regiment!

In the evening the first aid-de-camp of General Menou

came with a Letter, to demand an armistice for three days, in which time he might draw up Articles of Capitulation. This proposition was agreed to, and an arrangement made, that, notwithstanding hostilities should immediately cease, the date of the armistice was only to commence from the moment the French fired three unshotted guns, to be answered by three from the British, when the colours of both armies were to be lowered from the flag-staff, which ceremony was to take place at twelve o'clock the next day.

An officer was immediately dispatched to General Coote, who arrived in time to prevent his making a lodgment on the hill above Pompey's Pillar, a post of considerable importance.

On the 27th Colonel Montresor arrived from the Indian Army, with the intelligence that General Baird would reach Rosetta in a day or two. This army was destined to arrive too late throughout the whole of the Egyptian War. How it happened that so large a body of men, thus put in motion at a considerable expense, should only dance in the shadow of the enterprise, it were worth while to inquire; for certainly, somewhere there must have been neglect and mismanagement.

On the 29th General Menou's aid-de-camp came in from the enemy; but, instead of bringing Articles of Capitulation, he proposed a continuation of the armistice for thirty-six hours. General Hutchinson, much incensed at this paltry prevarication, wrote back, that he should direct hostilities to recommence at twelve at night, and orders to this effect were sent to General Coote. At nine o'clock, however, the aid-de-camp returned, with an assurance that proposals should be sent by two o'clock the next day, which offer was accepted, and an officer dispatched to the Westward with counter-orders. An aid-de-camp and a *chef-de-brigade*, the next day, at one o'clock, arrived at head-quarters, bearing the following Articles of Capitulation, many of which were refused,

yet the intention to surrender was unequivocally confirmed: indeed, no doubt could remain, after Captain Marley, on the evening of the day before, had been conducted into the French lines with Madame Menou's baggage, which he delivered to General Rampon.

At eleven at night, the aid-de-camp returned with the Articles, agreed to as corrected by General Hutchinson. The next day General Hope went into Alexandria to sign the Capitulation, General Menou received him with every mark of attention, and invited him to dinner. The repast was only *horse-flesh*!

On the morning of September 2nd Lord Keith came on shore, to ratify the terms; and a Capitulation was concluded, which embraced every desirable object, without unnecessarily degrading the conquered. General Menou was certainly entitled to every consideration which a brave, but unfortunate officer, has a right to expect from a generous enemy: and General Hutchinson knew well how to appreciate a conduct which had been so honourable, and to accede every indulgence not incompatible with the interests of his country and credit of the army. Policy obtained from him the terms of Cairo, and the noblest of motives induced his consent to these. In both, however, in our opinion, General Hutchinson displayed a very small share of diplomatic skill: of him, indeed, it might be said, he knew how to win by the sword and to lose by the pen.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION,

Proposed by ABDALLAH JAKES FRANCOIS MENOUE, General-in-Chief of the FRENCH ARMY now in ALEXANDRIA, to the Generals commanding the Land and Sea Forces of his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and of the SUBLIME PORTE, forming the Blockade of ALEXANDRIA; dated the 12th Fructidor, 9th Year of the FRENCH REPUBLIC (30th August, 1801.)

ART. I. FROM the present date to the 30th Fructidor (17th September) there shall be a continuation of the truce and suspension of arms between the French Army and the Combined Armies of his Britannic Majesty and of the Sublime Porte, upon the same conditions with those which actually subsist, with the exception of a re-

gulation, to be amicably settled between the respective generals of the two Armies, for establishing a new line of advanced posts, in order to remove all pretexts of hostility between the troops — Answer. Refused.

Art. II. In case no adequate succour should arrive to the French Army before the day mentioned in the preceding Article, that army shall evacuate the forts and intrenched camps of Alexandria upon the following conditions.—Answer. Refused.

Art. III. The French Army shall retire, on the first complimentary day of the French era, into the city of Alexandria and forts adjacent, and shall deliver up to the Allied Powers the intrenched camp in front of the lines of the Arabs, the fort Le Turc and the fort Du Vivier, together with their artillery and ammunition.—Answer. In forty-eight hours after the signing of the Capitulation; namely, on the 2nd September, at noon, the intrenched camp, the fort Tine, and that of Du Vivier, shall be delivered up to the Allied Powers; the ammunition and artillery of these forts shall be also delivered up. The French troops shall evacuate the city, forts, and dependencies of Alexandria, ten days after signing the Capitulation, or at the time of their embarkation.

Art. IV. All individuals constituting a part of the French Army, or attached to it by any relations, civil or military; the auxiliary troops, of every nation, country, or religion, to whatever powers they might have been subject before the arrival of the French, shall preserve their property, of every description; their effects, papers, &c. &c. which shall not be subject to any examination.—Answer. Granted; provided that nothing be carried away belonging to the Government of the French Republic, but only the effects, baggage, and other articles belonging to the French and auxiliary soldiers who have served during six months in the army of the Republic: the same is to be understood of all the individuals attached to the French Army by civil or military capacities, of whatever nation, country, or religion they may be.

Art. V. The French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals described in the preceding Articles, shall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria between the 5th and 10th of Vendemaire, year 10th of the Republic, at the latest (27th September to the 3rd October 1801) together with their arms, stores, baggage, effects, and property of all kinds, official papers and deposits, one field-piece to each battalion and squadron, with ammunition, &c. &c. &c.; the whole to be conveyed to one of the ports of the French Republic in the Mediterranean, to be determined by the General-in-Chief of the French Army.—Answer. The French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals described in the Fourth Article, shall

be embarked in the ports of Alexandria (unless, after an amicable convention, it should be found more expeditious to embark a part of them at Aboukir) as soon as vessels can be prepared; the Allied Powers at the same time engaging that the embarkation shall take place (if possible) ten days after the Capitulation shall be signed: they shall receive all the honours of war; shall carry away their arms and baggage; shall not be prisoners of war; and shall, moreover, take with them ten pieces of cannon, from four to eight pounders, with ten rounds of shot to each gun: they shall be conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean.

ART. VI. The French ships of war, with their full complement, and all merchant ships, to whatever nation or individuals they may belong; even those of nations at war with the Allied Powers, or those that are the property of owners or merchants who were subjects of the Allied Powers before the arrival of the French, shall depart with the French Army, in order that those which are ships of war may be restored to the French Government, and their merchant ships to their owners or to their assignees.—Answer Refused: all vessels shall be delivered up as they are.

ART. VII. Every single ship that, from the present day to the 30th Fructidor, shall arrive from the French Republic, or any of her Allies, into the ports or roads of Alexandria, shall be comprehended in this Capitulation. Every ship of war or commerce belonging to France, or to the Allies of the Republic, that shall arrive in the port or road of Alexandria within the twenty days immediately following the evacuation of that place shall not be considered as a lawful prize, but shall be set at liberty, with her equipage and cargo, and be furnished with a passport from the Allied Powers.—Answer. Refused.

ART. VIII. The French and Auxiliary troops, the civil and military agents attached to the army, and all other individuals described in the preceding Articles, shall be embarked on board some French, or other vessels, actually in the ports of Alexandria, as shall be in a condition to go to sea, or on board those of his Britannic Majesty and of the Sublime Porte, within the time fixed by the fifth Article.

ART. IX. Commissioners shall be named by each party to regulate the number of vessels to be employed, the number of men to be embarked upon them, and, generally, to provide for all the difficulties that may arise in carrying into execution the present Capitulation: those Commissioners shall agree upon the different positions which shall be taken by the ships now in the port of Alexandria and those which shall be furnished by the Allied Powers, so that, by a well regulated arrangement, every occasion of difference between the crews of the several nations may be avoided.—Answer. All

these details will be regulated by the English Admiral, and by an officer of the French Navy, named by the General-in-Chief.

ART. X. Merchants and owners of ships, of whatever nation or religion they may be, and also the inhabitants of Egypt, and of every other country, who may at the present time be in Alexandria; whether Syrians, Copts, Greeks, Arabs, Jews, &c. and who shall be desirous of following the French Army, shall be embarked with and enjoy the same advantages with that army: they shall be at liberty to remove their property, of all kinds, and to leave power, for the disposal of what they may not be able to take away; all arrangements, all sales, all stipulations, whether of commerce or of any other nature, made by them, shall be strictly carried into effect after their departure, and be maintained by the generals of his Britannic Majesty and of the Sublime Porte. Those who may prefer remaining in Egypt a certain time, on account of their private affairs, shall be at liberty so to do, and shall have full protection from the Allied Powers; those also who may be desirous of establishing themselves in Egypt shall be entitled to all the privileges and rights of which they were in possession before the arrival of the French.—Answer. Every article of merchandise, whether in the town of Alexandria or on board the vessels that are in the ports, shall be provisionally at the disposition of the Allied Powers; but subject to such definitive regulations as may be determined by established usage and the law of nations. Private merchants shall be at liberty to follow the French Army, or they may remain in the country in security.

ART. XI. None of the inhabitants of Egypt, or of any other nation or religion, shall be called to account for their conduct during the period of the French troops having been in the country; particularly, for having taken arms in their favour or having been employed by them.—Answer. Granted.

ART. XII. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them shall be fed, during their passage and until their arrival in France, at the expense of the Allied Powers, and conformably to the rules of the French navy. The Allied Powers shall supply every thing that may be necessary for the embarkation.—Answer. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, shall be fed during their passage and until their arrival in France at the expense of the Allied Powers, according to the usage established in the marine of England.

ART. XIII. The Consuls, and all other public agents of the several powers in alliance with the French Republic, shall continue in the enjoyment of all the privileges and rights which are granted by civilized nations to diplomatic agents. Their property, all their effects,

and papers, shall be respected, and placed under the protection of the Allied Powers; they shall be at liberty to retire or to remain, as they may think fit.—Answer. The Consuls, and all other public agents of the powers in alliance with the French Republic, shall be at liberty to remain or to retire, as they may judge fit. Their property, and effects of any kind, together with their papers, shall be preserved for them, provided they conduct themselves with loyalty, and conformably to the law of nations.

ART. XIV. The sick, who may be judged by the medical staff of the army to be in a state for removal, shall be embarked at the same time with the army, upon hospital ships, properly furnished with medicines, provisions, and every other store that may be necessary for their situation; and they shall be attended by French surgeons. Those of the sick who may not be in a condition to undertake the voyage, shall be delivered over to the care and humanity of the Allied Powers. French physicians, and other medical assistance, shall be left for their care, to be maintained at the expense of the Allied Powers; who shall send them to France as soon as their state of health will permit, together with any thing belonging to them, in the same manner as has been proposed for the rest of the army.—Answer. Granted. The ships destined for hospitals shall be prepared for the reception of those who may fall sick during the passage. The medical staff of the two armies shall concert together in what manner to dispose of those of the sick, who, having contagious disorders, ought not to have communication with the others.

ART. XV. Horse transports for conveying sixty horses, with every thing necessary for their subsistence during the passage, shall be furnished.—Answer. Granted.

ART. XVI. The individuals composing the Institute of Egypt, and the Commission of Arts, shall carry with them all the papers, plans, memoirs, collections of natural history, and all the monuments of art and antiquity, collected by them in Egypt.—Answer. The Members of the Institute may carry with them all the instruments of arts and science which they have brought from France; but the Arabian M. SS. the statues, and other collections which have been made for the French Republic, shall be considered as public property, and subject to the disposal of the generals of the Combined Army.

[General Hope having declared, in consequence of some observations of the Commander-in-Chief of the French army, that he could make no alteration in this Article, it has been agreed that a reference thereupon should be made to the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Army.]

ART. XVII. The vessels which shall be employed in conveying the French and auxiliary army, as well as the different persons who

shall accompany it, shall be escorted by ships of war belonging to the Allied Powers, who formally engage, that they shall not, in any manner, be molested during the voyage: the safety of such of these vessels as may be separated by stress of weather, or other accidents, shall be guaranteed by the generals of the Allied Forces: the vessels conveying the French Army shall not, under any pretence, touch at any other than the French coast, except in case of absolute necessity.—Answer Granted. The Commander-in-Chief of the French army, entering into a reciprocal engagement, that none of those vessels shall be molested during their stay in France, or on their return; he equally engaging that they shall be furnished with every thing which may be necessary, according to the constant practice of European Powers.

ART. XVIII. At the time of giving up the camps and forts, according to the terms of the Third Article, the prisoners in Egypt shall be respectively given up on both sides.—Answer. Granted.

ART. XIX. Commissioners shall be named to receive the artillery of the place, and of the forts, stores, magazines, plans, and other articles, that the French leave to the Allied Powers; and lists and inventories shall be made out, signed by the commissaries of the different powers, according as the forts and magazines shall be given up to the Allied Powers.—Answer Granted; provided that all the plans of the city, and forts of Alexandria, as well as all maps of the country, shall be delivered up to the English Commissary. The batteries, cisterns, and other public buildings, shall also be given up, in the condition in which they actually are.

ART. XX. A passport shall be granted to a French armed vessel, in order to convey to Toulon, immediately after the camps and forts before mentioned shall be given up, officers, charged by the Commander-in-Chief to carry to his government the present Capitulation.—Answer Granted. But, if it is a French vessel, it shall not be armed.

ART. XXI. On giving up the camps and forts mentioned in the preceding Articles, hostages shall be given on both sides, in order to guarantee the execution of the present Treaty. They shall be chosen from among the officers of rank in the respective armies; namely, four from the French army, two from the British troops, and two from the troops of the Sublime Porte. The four French hostages shall be embarked on-board the English ships commanding the squadron; and the four British and Turkish hostages on board one of the vessels which shall carry the Commander-in-Chief, or the Lieutenant-generals. They shall all be reciprocally delivered up on their arrival in France.—Answer. There shall be placed in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief of the French Army, four officers of rank, as hostages, viz. one officer of the Navy, one officer of the British

Army, and two officers of the Turkish Army. The Commander-in-Chief, shall, in like manner, place in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief of the British army four officers of rank. The hostages shall be restored on both sides at the period of the embarkation.

ART. XXII. If any difficulties should arise during the execution of the present Capitulation, they shall be amicably settled by the Commissaries.—Answer. Granted.

(Signed)

KEITH, Admiral,
J. HELY HUTCHINSON, Lieutenant-
General, Commander-in-Chief.
HUSSIM, Captain Pacha,
ABDALLAH JACQUES FRANCOIS.
MENOU, General-in-Chief of the
French Army.
JAMES KEMPT, Lieutenant-colonel,
and Secretary.

Such were the terms granted by our victorious army to Menou and the French: they were abundantly more favourable than circumstances authorised; and it must justly excite our wonder, that this same general, who so contemptuously rejected the proposals for the evacuation of Egypt, after the battle of the 21st; that this very Menou, who so pompously avowed his determination to bury himself beneath the ruins of Alexandria, should propose to capitulate without sustaining the shadow of siege, or risking any decisive action! humanity, certainly, applauds a termination so free from bloodshed; but a warlike mind feels contempt as it beholds such vain and empty boasting, unvouched by a single deed.

THE END OF CHAP. XXII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Summary of the remaining Operations in Egypt.... State of Menou's Army. ..Stores of Alexandria at the time of Capitulation....Strength of the French, and the wilful Perversions of Reynier on the Subject....Dispatch of General Hutchinson....High Opinion of the Porte of the British Character....Differences between Menou and General Hutchinson respecting the Antiquities to be taken away from Egypt....How adjusted....The French embark for France....Loss in the Expedition.

WE shall give a summary of the remaining operations of the two armies.

On the 3rd of September the Quartermaster-general went into the French lines, to be shewn the mines and the different forts to be occupied; and at eleven o'clock the grenadiers of the army, in three columns, with drums beating, colours flying, and a proportion of field-pieces, marched to take possession of their position.

The French had been under arms every night since the siege began; nor could relief to the severity of the service be expected or solicited, under the circumstances which pressed: no one, however indolent, could have wished, in such a desperate situation, to leave the post of danger.

General Menou's force did not justify any longer that inactive resistance which he adopted: he had under him brave men, who, notwithstanding they were abandoned to themselves, remained faithful to their duty; who had seen their comrades pass gaily by them, returning to that native country for which they had all so languished, and who yet betrayed no symptom of disaffection or intolerance at their situation. Worn out by fatigue, exposed

daily to an unserviceable destruction, they still executed the commands and relied on the judgment of their leader; it became, therefore, his sacred duty to preserve them when his country could no longer be benefited by their perseverance; and, under these circumstances, his extravagant boast and his other conduct were so much the more empty and ridiculous.

There is no foundation, however, for saying that there was only a few days water in Alexandria, as General Reynier asserts: for, with a very little supply, the water in the tanks lasted the English till the month of February following.

Alexandria was defended by 312 pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, and 77 were found in the ships of war, many of which had been put on board latterly. In the powder magazines were left 14,102 filled gun-cartridges and 195,218 lbs. of powder in barrels.

Nothing, as we before observed, can be uninteresting relative to the mutual strength of the two armies, when we consider what have been the constant perversions of Reynier upon this subject, and with what disgraceful assiduity he has laboured to persuade Europe, that the French magnanimously resisted torrents of armed troops, and, in fact, like Sir John Falstaff, had whole countless armies in buckram jackets, to oppose! It is thus that he would rob us of the fair laurels we have gained, and tear from the hand of courage and discipline its well-earned honours, to place them on the sterile brow of gigantic disproportion. Did General Reynier feel with the true dignity of a soldier, he would disdain to rob even his enemy of their just honours.

The return of the garrison of Alexandria, as given in by General Menou, was as follows, exclusive of women and children

RETURN

Of the Garrison of ALEXANDRIA, which surrendered September 1st, 1801.

Cavalry and Infantry, including Officers and	Men.
Non-commissioned Officers	5,965
Artillery, ditto, ditto	759
Corps of Dromedaries, Syrians, Horse and	
Foot Guards, together	278
Marine Artillery	290
Sappers and Miners	139
Artificers	122
Seamen doing duty in garrison	1,230
Greeks	118
Invalids	240
Sick	1,387
Total Military	10,528

CIVIL DEPARTMENT.

Officers and Attendants of General Hospital	238
Army Commissariats	95
Marine Commissariats	196
Geographical Engineers	9
Commission of Arts and Sciences	47
Clerks of the National Treasury	17
Civilians and Merchants	83

Grand Total . . . 11,213

When this force is considered, let it be confessed, that Menou, intrenched within a fortified town, capitulated dishonourably, as a military man: and let it also be confessed, that the victory of the 21st was one that will reflect perpetual honour on the British arms.

The city of Alexandria is very small; the population never exceeded 6,900 souls, and, since the arrival of the French, it is considerably diminished. The houses being all white, the general appearance of the city is more lively than of any other in Egypt.

On September the 5th Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Abercrombie embarked on board the Carmine with the

dispatches for England: the selection of these officers was an honourable trait of feeling and consideration. We cannot better convey an adequate idea of the services performed by our countrymen during this expedition, than by giving here the very words of Lord Hutchinson:

“ This arduous important service has, at length, been brought to a conclusion. The exertions of individuals have been splendid and meritorious: I regret that the bounds of a dispatch will not allow me to specify the whole, or to mention the name of every person who has distinguished himself in the public service. I have received the greatest support and assistance from the general officers of the army: the conduct of the troops, of every description, has been exemplary in the highest degree; there has been much to applaud and nothing to reprehend: their order and regularity in the camp have been as conspicuous as their courage in the field. To the Quarter-master-general, Lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, I owe much, for his unwearied industry and zeal in the public service, and for the aid, advice, and co-operation, which he has, at all times, afforded me. Brigadier-general Lawson, who commanded the artillery, and Captain Brice, the chief engineer, have both great merit in their different departments. The local situation of Egypt presents obstacles of a most serious kind to military operations on an extended scale; the skill and perseverance of these two officers have overcome difficulties which, at first sight, have appeared almost insurmountable.

“ Lieutenant-colonel Lindenthal, who has always acted with the Turks, deserves also my utmost acknowledgements: his activity and diligence have been unremitted, and he has introduced amongst them an order and regularity which does him the highest honour.

“ During the course of the long service on which we have been engaged, Lord Keith has, at all times, given me the most able assistance and counsel. The labour and fatigues of the navy have been continued and exces-

sive—it has not been of one day, or of one week, but for months together! In the Bay of Aboukir, on the New Inundation, and on the Nile, for 160 miles, they have been employed without intermission, and have submitted to many privations with a cheerfulness and patience highly creditable to them and advantageous to the public service.

“ Sir Sidney Smith had, originally, the command of the seamen who landed from the fleet; he continued on shore till after the capture of Rosetta, and returned on board the *Tigre* a short time before the appearance of Admiral Gantheaume’s squadron on the coast: he was present in the three actions of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March; when he displayed that ardour of mind for the service of his country, and that noble intrepidity, for which he has ever been so conspicuous.

“ Captain Stevenson, of the *Europa*, succeeded him, and I have every reason to be satisfied with his zeal and conduct. The crews of the gun-boats displayed great gallantry, under his guidance, in the New Inundation; and much approbation is also due to the naval officers who acted under his orders.

“ Captain Presland, of the *Regulus*, has had the direction, for many months past, of all Greek ships in our employment and of those belonging to the Commissariat: he has been active, zealous, and indefatigable, and merits my warmest approbation; I must, therefore, beg leave particularly to recommend this old and meritorious officer to your Lordship’s protection.

“ Allow me to express an humble hope, that the army in Egypt have gratified the warmest wishes and expectations of their country: to them every thing is due, and to me nothing! It was my fate to succeed a man who created such a spirit, and established such discipline among them, that little has been left to me to perform, except to follow his maxims and to endeavour to imitate his conduct.

"This Dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by Colonel Abercrombie, an officer of considerable ability, and worthy of the great name which he bears: he will, one day, I trust, emulate the virtue and talents of his never to be sufficiently lamented Father!"

It is impossible not to be struck with this simple, manly, and energetic account of this brilliant expedition: and how far superior does this modest, unassuming detail appear, in the eyes of sober reason, to the inflated, pompous, mock-heroic, and often false dispatches, of the French generals, during the Revolutionary War!

On September 6th Mr. Hutchinson was sent to Constantinople with the dispatches, by the particular wish of the Captain Pacha. The inhabitants of Constantinople considered the surrender of Alexandria as the termination of the war in Egypt, and manifested on the occasion the most enthusiastic joy: the cannon of the Seraglio were fired; the city was splendidly illuminated; and the Sultan ordered fifty gold medals to be struck, bearing a crescent and star in the centre, with a suitable inscription, to be distributed among the English officers in Egypt, to several of whom the Grand Vizier, in the name of his sovereign, had before made both honourable and valuable presents. A magnificent palace was built in Pera, and dedicated to the future residence, in all times to come, of the English Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. How much is it to be regretted that this high character, which our nation enjoyed among the Turks, should be forfeited, a few years hence, by a flagrant breach of justice! At the time we are writing this, (November 1807) it is said that our ambassador is not permitted to enter Constantinople! In the midst of peace, without any provocation whatever on the part of Turkey, we have attacked her, we have treated her most roughly!

Some differences had arisen between General Menou, and General Hutchinson, relative to the antiquities and

collections. General Menou had maintained that two Statues, found in the ruins of Alexandria, were private property belonging to General Friant; that the famous stone, (called "The Gem of Antiquity" by the French, as being the key to the Hieroglyphic Language) was his private property; and that the collections of Natural History belonged individually to the different artists. These pretensions were so weak as not to admit of sound argument; for how could such things be claimed by individuals, particularly in the French service, on an expedition in which so much attention had been paid, and such national expense incurred, to procure for the Museum of Paris curiosities of this nature? General Menou at last abandoned the claim to the stone, but the statues were left to the English as a surrender of necessity. The works of the Scavans, General Hutchinson, on their representation, restored to them; as they explained, that their researches would be published for general information, and he was aware that no one could complete so well as those who originally designed. General Menou, in the course of this altercation, stated that he was certainly obliged to yield to the mandates of a general, supported by so many thousand men, and with such an artillery: a mean and vulgar insinuation, totally unworthy a gentleman and a soldier! General Hutchinson replied, that these reproaches were not handsome, since he had never cast any on him, for allowing an inferior army to gain the country, nor should he, even now, make such recrimination.

On September the 14th the first division of the French marched to Aboukir and embarked.

On the 15th Lord William Bentinck arrived from England, bringing dispatches. General Moore was ordered to England with all possible dispatch, Lord Cavan was left in command of Egypt, and General Hutchinson had leave to return home, General Fox being appointed to the command of the troops in the Mediterranean.

The French continued to embark as fast as ships could be provided.

During this arduous and interesting contest, the English lost twenty-four officers and about seven or eight hundred private men, including the naval as well as the military service. Very different was the fate of France; which, in this memorable Expedition to the East, lost not less than from thirty to forty thousand of its best troops, and had its navy almost annihilated. Of the whole number of French sent to Egypt in the course of three years there returned 23,000: they were accompanied by several hundreds of the natives, of both sexes. In addition to this, they lost, in different actions, one thousand and three pieces of cannon, exclusive of near five hundred unserviceable pieces, guns in boats, &c. &c. In shipping, they lost one of sixty-four, one fifty-two, one of fifty, one of forty-six, and two of twenty-six guns; besides, two hundred sail of merchantmen.

The losses of the English have been already stated, and perhaps the curious and scientific reader will not be displeased to find here, a List of those Monuments and remains of Ancient Sculpture, with which the Expedition enriched England.

AN ACCOUNT

Of PIECES OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE, taken by the British Forces, under the Command of Lieutenant-general LORD HUTCHINSON, in EGYPT, from the FRENCH ARMY in ALEXANDRIA, and sent to England, September 1802.

1. An Egyptian Sarcophagus, with the hieroglyphics of a stone, called by the French *Breche Verte*, from the mosque of St. Athanasius in Alexandria.

2. Ditto, ditto, of black granite, from Cairo.

3. Ditto, ditto, of basalt, from Menbuf.

4. The fist of a Colossal Statue, supposed to be Vulcan, found in the ruins of Memphis.

5. Five Fragments, of Statues, with Lion's Heads, black granite, brought from the ruins of Thebes.

6. A Mutilated Figure kneeling, black granite.

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17. Two Statues, white marble, supposed to be Septimius Severus, and Marcus Aurelius, found in the researches made in Alexandria.

8. A stone, of black granite, with three inscriptions, Hieroglyphic, Coptic, and Greek, found near Rosetta.

9. A Statue of a Woman sitting, with a Lion's Head, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

10. Two Fragments of Lion's Heads, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

11. A small Figure kneeling, with Hieroglyphics, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

12. Five Fragments of Statues, with Lion's Heads, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

13. A Fragment of a Sarcophagus, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

14. Two small Obelisks, remarkably fine, with Hieroglyphics, basaltic, from Upper Egypt.

15. A Colossal Ram's Head, of a stone called by the French *Rouge Gais*, from Upper Egypt.

16. A Statue of a Woman sitting on the ground, of black granite: between the feet is a Medal of a Capital of a Column of the Temple of Isis at Dendera.

17. A Fragment of a Statue, with a Lion's Head, black granite, from Upper Egypt.

A chest of Oriental MSS. amounting to sixty-two, Coptic, Arabic, and Turkish, belonging to the Library of the French Institute at Cairo.

Several antiquities were found by the English; the most valuable were, the Figure of a Roman Soldier, as large as life, and a large Tablet; the inscription of which stated, that whatever this belonged to, was erected in honour of Septimius Severus, by the veterans of the 11th Legion; which Tablet is now in the possession of General Coote. A stone was also found, in the camp of the 3rd Regiment of Guards, with hieroglyphics, of the same unknown kind as the Memnon.

CHAPTER XXIV.

General Joy diffused in England at the successful Termination of the Egyptian Expedition....Honours accorded to the Army....The Burial of Sir Ralph Abercrombie at Malta....His Monument, and the Inscription thereon.... Probable Disappointment of Buonaparté at the Failure of his Hopes in the East....The Manner in which he glossed over the Defeat of his Army....Brief Account of the Massacre of the Beys....General Hutchinson's Conduct upon it.

THE successful termination of the war in Egypt diffused general joy throughout England, and every one was emulous to pay some mark of respect and admiration to the brave men who had so nobly maintained the honour of the British name throughout such an arduous campaign. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted; a cenotaph to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; a peerage, to his widow, and a pension of 2,000*l. per annum*: General Hutchinson was created a peer, with a pension of 2,000*l. a year*: Admiral Keith was also created a British peer: General Coote invested with the order of the Bath; and each regiment, which had been employed upon the service, allowed to carry in their colours the emblem of a Sphinx, and to have the word "Egypt!" inscribed. The Grand Seignior, also, to perpetuate the services rendered to the Ottoman Empire, established an order of knighthood, which he named, "The ORDER of the CRESCENT:" in the first class were Lord Hutchinson, Lord Keith, Admiral Bickerton, Major-General Coote, Major-General Baird, and Lord Elgin. In the second the general officers, and naval officers, of equal rank.

The gallant, the lamented, Sir Ralph Abercrombie's body was carried, in the *Flora* frigate, to Malta, and

buried in the North-east bastion of the fortifications of La Valette. A black marble tombstone, laid horizontally, marks the place of interment. A Latin inscription is engraved upon it, written by the Librarian of the Order of Malta, and of which, for the sake of the general reader, we shall give a translation; conscious, as we are, that every reader will peruse with delight the last record of a brave Soldier, and a virtuous Man.

TO THE MEMORY
Of RALPH ABERCROMBIE, a native of Scotland,
Knight of the Order of the Bath;
a Man
highly distinguished for his probity,
magnanimity, consummate courage,
and military talents,
in the several Wars of America and Holland,
whom GEORGE THE THIRD, King of
Great Britain,
with the universal approbation of his Subjects,
appointed Commander-in-Chief
of the British Army in the Mediterranean Sea;
In which capacity,
completing an Expedition to Egypt,
He,
although everywhere opposed by the bravest
of the Troops of France,
in one forcible attack, gained and kept
possession of the whole Egyptian Coast;
and, in his progress, defeated and suppressed
their endeavours to oppose him:
until, the British and French Armies
engaging in a sanguinary conflict, near
Alexandria,
on the 21st day of March, in the Year 1801,
whilst fighting in the foremost ranks,
and in the very bosom of victory,
He received a mortal wound
in his thigh;
of which, to the keen regret of all who knew him,
He expired,
on the 28th day of the same month, in the 68th

year of his age.

He was a Commander
eminently conspicuous for his skill
in the Art of War;
for his prudence in projecting,
and bravery in executing his measures;
and for his unsullied honour in all that
concerned the glory of his Country and King,
His Sovereign, and Great Britain, were alike
grieved at his loss.

HENRY PIGOT,
appointed, by Royal authority,
Commander-in-Chief of the garrison
of British troops stationed
in this Island, has piously ordered
this to be raised over the ashes
of that excellent and well deserving
Officer: conveyed hither, in public
funeral, on the 29th day of
April, in the same year.

Thus terminated the Egyptian Expedition, with glory to this country, and not without it to France. Buonaparté saw, in the final departure of his troops, the complete failure of his ambitious hopes; he saw himself defeated in the strong expectations which he had formed of humbling England. Cut off from all hopes of disturbing our Indian possessions, and thus creating a diversion in that quarter of the world in his favour; without a navy by which to counteract this derangement of his plans; and too busily employed in consolidating his newly acquired power to feel himself at leisure to form new ones; he adopted that conduct, the course of which we have now to pursue. Great, indeed, must have been his vexation at so calamitous a termination; but he knew how to make even defeat respectable; and he consoled the French Nation with the reflection, "That the Army of the East had left in Egypt an immortal memory; which would, perhaps, one day, revive there the arts and institutions of

society : and that History, at least, would not pass over in silence all that the French had done to introduce into that country the arts and improvements of Europe." No ! History shall record this ; and, with it, she will record scenes more disgraceful to civilized man than ever stained the annals of a nation !

We shall conclude this chapter with a brief mention of the massacre of the Beys ; an event that has been supposed, by some, to reflect a shade of opprobrium on the British character, though unjustly.

From the commencement of the war in Egypt the Porte had formed a secret resolution to change the government of that country, at the same time that both the Grand Vizier and Captain Pacha held out to the Beys and the Mamelukes the most unequivocal assurance that their authority would be immediately restored on the destruction of the infidels. On the expulsion of the French from Egypt, accordingly, seven of the Beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the Captain Pacha, on the subject of certain arrangements, necessary to be made for their re-establishment : they were received, on their arrival, with every demonstration of hospitality and respect. On pretence of a wish that they might accompany him on a visit of ceremony to the British Commander in Alexandria, but, in reality, with a view to send them to Constantinople, he treacherously engaged them to go on board a ship of war, whither he was himself to accompany them : but, after they had gone into the boats that were to carry them to the ship, they began to recollect the repeated advices and warnings that had been given to them by General Hutchinson, never to trust themselves on board any Turkish vessels ; and they apprehended some violence after they should be lodged in the frigate. They required of the officers who had charge of them to reconduct them to the shore : the officers, pleading the orders of the High Admiral, refused to comply with their request. The Beys, grasping their arms,

began to use force: a conflict ensued, in which four of the Beys were killed and three wounded. The Grand Vizier too, at the same time, attempted to secure as many of the Beys as he could, by force or fraud: some fell into his hands, others made their escape into Upper Egypt.

General Hutchinson, apprized of all this, ordered his troops under arms, remonstrated severely with both the Grand Vizier and the Captain Pacha, and reclaimed, in a menacing tone, the wounded Beys; the bodies of the slain, for honourable sepulture; and the Beys also who were in the power of the Vizier. Our readers will remember, that General Hutchinson had repeatedly pledged himself for the safety of these people. The Captain Pacha imputed the disaster that had befallen the Seven Beys to their own suspicions, which, he said, were without foundation; and he excused his own conduct from the orders that had been sent, both to himself and the Grand Vizier, from the Porte. He carried himself very highly, and affected to treat General Hutchinson, in some sort, as the guest of the Grand Seignior, by sending him regularly a second course to his table, consisting of all the delicacies that could be provided. It has been justly thought that General Hutchinson did not act with becoming vigor upon this occasion, nor was he sufficiently attentive to the honour and dignity of the British name. The conduct of the Captain Pacha and the Grand Vizier, towards these unfortunate Beys, was a flagrant breach of faith, which ought to have been resented in a prompt and decisive manner. To have hung the perfidious Pacha at the yard arm of the very vessel into which he meant to decoy the Beys, would have been an act of common justice, and would have struck the East with admiration and awe of the British name: but, instead of this, General Hutchinson merely confined himself to demanding the freedom of the Beys: which was granted.

But the Beys, though left to their own disposal, foresaw the évacuation of Egypt by the English and the

establishment of the power of the Turks: their faithful Mamelukes were either dispersed or had fallen by the sword; they listened, therefore, to the fair promises that were made to them by the Captain Pacha and Grand Vizier, and solemnly confirmed, by their oaths, on the Koran, of protection, favour, and preferment, if they would throw themselves into the arms of the Sultan. They consented to relinquish their pretensions to any authority in Egypt, and signified their consent, in writing, to the Grand Seignior, and also to General Hutchinson. The Porte extended to Egypt the system of government by Pachas.

Thus terminated the revolution, occasioned by the French, in Egypt; and much bloodshed, and immense treasures were squandered towards the attainment of an object, which was, finally, rendered abortive by the arms of Great Britain.

CHAPTER. XXV.

Return to European Politics...Views of Buonaparté towards England after the Peace of Luneville...The principal Objects of his Attention...Endeavours to revive the armed Confederacy of 1780...The Emperor Paul sends an Embassy to Paris, and the sumptuous Manner in which it is received...Denmark enjoyed a long Peace...The first to arm against England...The only one that suffers...Lord Whitworth sent to Copenhagen, and his Mission, backed by an English Squadron, therefore successful.

HAVING brought the Egyptian Expedition to a close, let us now return to Europe, and narrate, with a faithful pen, the events that took place there during our struggles in the East; events which will be found more intimately connected with our Hero, because occurring under his immediate eye, and instigated by his direct influence.

Having made peace with Austria, he was now at liberty to bend his undivided attention towards England; for though he, probably, did not himself entertain any solid hopes of effecting any thing important against this country, yet the appearance of it, he knew, might assist him two ways; it would serve to keep the army employed, and to furnish matter for attention to the Parisians, who would thus be withdrawn from too close a consideration of his own newly acquired power; and it would also compel us to be continually on the alert, exhaust gradually our resources, and pave the way for a general pacification.

The leading features of the policy of Buonaparté towards this country, at the time we are now treating of, appear to have been, to excite a confederacy against us among all the maritime powers, and to exclude us from all the Ports of Europe; then to attack Portugal, our only

remaining ally, and, if possible, to subdue her; and finally, by the continued threat of invasion, to wear out our patience and impoverish our finances.

Buonaparté was congratulated by all the constituted authorities on the peace which he had made with Austria. In his answer, he replied, "France will not reap all the blessings of peace until she shall have a peace with England; but a sort of delirium has seized on that Government, which now holds nothing sacred: its conduct is unjust, not only towards the French people, but also towards all the powers of the continent; and, when governments are not just, their authority is but short lived. All the powers of the continent must force England to fall back into the track of moderation, of equity, and reason.* Such was the language then held by Buonaparté towards this country, and it is remarkable what a similarity has prevailed ever since. The liberty of the seas has long been the watch-word, though an unavailing one, and we trust, it will ever prove so. Let it never be forgotten, that the navy of England is the only sure bulwark upon which she can securely rely; that destroyed, her destruction, though not rapid, would be certain. Though Buonaparté be not a Scipio, yet England may prove a Carthage, if ever the contest be brought to issue upon her own shores, and our navy destroyed.

Our readers will recollect that Buonaparté, after his assumption of the Consulate, made overtures of peace to this country, in a letter, addressed directly to the King, he not deigning to use the customary diplomatic forms. These overtures were rejected, principally, as it is understood, from the influence of Mr. Pitt, who, having declared that he never would make a peace with Buonaparté, now, consistently with his declaration, urged the probable insecurity of the French Government, and the folly of making peace with a power that might cease to exist ere the articles could be drawn up.

Buonaparté, failing in this attempt at pacification (the

sincerity of which may be justly doubted) continued, with unflinching assiduity, to represent to all maritime nations the overbearing haughtiness and insolence of this country, and he endeavoured to revive the armed neutrality of 1780; the principle of which was, that free and neutral bottoms made free and neutral goods. The glaring fallacy of this opinion needs no refutation; the most obtuse mind must be aware, that such a principle once admitted, would open a door to the exercise of privileges prejudicial in an alarming degree to the interests of this country; not, indeed, to the interests of this country alone, for even those powers who were advocates for its establishment against us, might become, they knew not how soon, in a situation that would render it as injurious to themselves: this, however, they saw not, in the blindness of their rage: the attempts of the weak against the strong, indeed, are often only injurious machines, which return back upon the inventors.

It was sufficient for Buonaparté that the idea was plausible and calculated to flatter the wishes of the different maritime powers. By his ministers, and other agents, at the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin, he insinuated how encouraging the present posture of Europe was for such a step, and great the advantages of compelling the English to make peace on reasonable terms.

The effecting of this was not then so difficult; Russia, the most important of the Northern powers was governed by a frantic madman, the Emperor Paul. He had been irritated, by various accidents, against the courts both of Vienna and London, but especially against the latter. Mutual accusations had taken place between the Russian and the English generals after the unsuccessful and disastrous expedition, in 1799, to Holland. After the first ebullition of the Emperor's rage against his own officers, his jealousy and resentment was awakened against the

English; and this was farther inflamed by the failure of his schemes in the Mediterranean.

The genius of the Russian Government, amidst the caprices and singularities of individual characters, may be said still to preserve the impulse and determination that was given to it by Peter. It was his aim to have a firm footing in the Mediterranean as well as on the Northern Ocean and the Baltic; in pursuance of this general aim, Paul had been led, by a concurrence of circumstances, to fix his eyes and heart on Malta. It appears that he had been allowed to entertain hopes of possessing it, though no absolute promise was made to him by the other Allies. A fleet, with troops, had sailed from the Black Sea in August 1800, for the express purpose of taking possession of the place when it should surrender. No remonstrances were made when Paul ridiculously assumed the title of Grand Master of Malta; and when he pretended to make Captain Home Popham, a knight of that order, his right to do so was recognized in the London Gazette. When the original destination of that fleet was frustrated, by the surrender of Malta, and its occupation by the English, it remained long at anchor in the Canal of Constantinople, waiting for orders how to act. The resentment of the Emperor was, in the first instance, as is usual, wreaked on a weak party, presenting itself as a ready object for the gratification of his passion. He demanded from the Grand Seignior, the ally of England, a large sum, stipulated, he alledged, to be paid by the Turks for the maritime aid of the Russians. A sharp dispute arose on this subject: the Russian Admiral refused to return to the Crimea till the money should be paid, and even threatened hostile measures against Constantinople: the Porte was obliged to yield to the menaces of the enraged Czar of Muscovy. Nor is it by any means unimportant, however ludicrous, to mention, that Paul was highly offended by the caricatures of his person and cha-

racter, published in the streets of London, and which Buonaparté took especial care to have transmitted to Petersburg. On the irritable and irritated temper of the Emperor, disgusted with Austria, and much more with England, Buonaparté operated with consummate address and complete success.

The consequence of all this was an embassy from Russia to France, on which occasion Buonaparté, with admirable policy, took care to flatter the vanity of Paul, by paying the most extravagant attentions to his representative. The ambassador was received with the most profuse honours: his entry into Paris was announced by the firing of guns; nothing that he asked could be refused; and the good, modest, unassuming Count Kalitcheff, knew not whether he was a man or a god. Buonaparté, however, cared not; he was a master in that perfection of political skill which consists in rendering the dominant foibles or virtues of your object subservient to your own designs. Paul could not be proof against such splendid courtesy: he was won.

Next to Russia, the power of most importance in the formation of a confederation against England was Prussia: without her concurrence the effects of any confederacy could neither be very important or very lasting, but with it every thing was to be feared. Prussia commands an extensive maritime coast, and the navigation of all the great rivers from the Rhine to the Eider, on the North of Germany: Buonaparté, therefore, spared no exertions to bring this power into the confederacy, and, for this purpose, he sent his brother Louis to Berlin. Nor was it by secret intrigues only that he endeavoured to raise this armed monster against England: he avowed this intention, with the reasons on which it was formed, before the whole world, in a Message to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate, on the 13th February, and which, like his other messages and measures, was printed and published. "Why," says

he, "is it that this treaty (*i. e.* the Treaty of Luneville) is not a treaty of general pacification? this was the wish of France, this was the constant object of the efforts of its government. But all its efforts have been in vain, Europe knows all that the British ministry have done to prevent the success of the negotiations at Luneville. In vain did an agent, authorized by the government, declare to them on the 9th of October, 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negotiation with them: its declaration was answered only by a refusal, under a pretext that England could not abandon her Ally. Since that period, and after that Ally had consented to treat without England, this government seeks for other means of postponing peace, which is so necessary to the whole world. It violates a convention consecrated by humanity, and makes war on fishermen! It advances pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. All the commerce of Asia, and immense colonies, are no longer sufficient to satisfy its ambition; it is necessary that all the seas should be subjected to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, because Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have by treaties mutually guaranteed their sovereignty, their independence, and their flags. The Princes of the North, unjustly attacked, have a right to rely on the assistance of France: the French Government will, with them, avenge an injury common to all nations; without at any time forgetting, that it ought to contend only for peace and the happiness of the world."

Such was the language of Buonaparté upon this occasion, and it was echoed by his faithful constituted authorities with most courtly similarity; *The liberty of the seas and the repose of Europe* was the chief burden of the song in all their harangues. Nor was the press silent in the grand business of arming a confederacy against us: many publications were issued, whose object was, not only to shew that the overbearing power of this country at sea

ought to be resisted, but that it might be resisted with success. Examples were adduced, to shew that maritime strength, unsupported by territorial, is nothing; and it was confidently predicted, that the fate of Alexandria, Tyre, Rhodes, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, &c. would speedily be the fate of England.

The manner in which Buonaparté signified his intention of crushing our maritime supremacy was signified to England in a very courteous manner.—About the middle of January, 1801, some valuable books, magnificently bound, were presented to the Royal Society of London, from the National Institute of France: a letter of compliment accompanied this present, signed — *Buonaparté, President of the National Institute and First Consul of France*: and on the letter was a finely executed vignette, representing Liberty sailing on the open ocean in a shell, with the following motto:

“Liberté de mer.”

The progress of the Northern Confederacy became every day more marked; Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, entered into it with avidity. Denmark had long been a pacific nation, not having been engaged in any war for upwards of eighty years, and it might, therefore, have been presumed that she would reluctantly engage in one now; yet it is remarkable, that she was the first, the last, and the only power, that was engaged in actual hostilities.

Many Danish ships had been brought into our ports, though it appeared, afterwards, that they contained no contraband commodities: this was not only vexatious but attended with much loss. But the first difference, of any consequence, since the armed neutrality of 1780, on the subject of the right of visitation by sea, arose in the month of December 1799, in the vicinity of Gibraltar, between some English frigates and a Danish frigate, named the *Hausenan*, commanded by Captain Van Dockum. The English commander sent on board the

Dane, to demand from the captain his destination. The captain answered, that he was then going to Gibraltar. The English commander replied, that, if he was going to stop at Gibraltar, he would not visit his convoy; but that, in case he should not cast anchor there, the visit certainly would take place. Captain Van Dockum then, informed the officer, who had come on board, that, in such case, he would make resistance. On this the English captain made the signal to examine the convoy; the boat of the frigate (which was the Emerald) prepared to execute this order. Some musketry was fired down from the Danish frigate, and one of the English sailors wounded in consequence: this frigate also took possession of a boat of the English frigate the Flora, and did not release it till after the English captain had given Captain Dockum to understand, that, if he did not surrender it immediately, he should commence hostilities. The Danish frigate then repaired, with its convoy, to the Bay of Gibraltar: there some discussions took place, between Lord Keith, commander of the British forces in the Mediterranean, and Captain Van Dockum, whom Lord Keith thought proper to consider as personally responsible and guilty of the injury done to a subject of his king. He thought it impossible, he said, that the captain could be authorized to act in such a manner by the instructions of his court. To clear up the business, the English Admiral sent an officer to Van Dockum, requesting that he would shew him these instructions, and explain their nature. The Dane refused to let the Admiral see his instructions, alledging that he was forbid so to do; but he told the officer that their import was, not to permit visitation of his convoy, and that, in firing on the English boats, he only fulfilled his orders. The Captain himself afterwards made like answer; and, on his word of honour, in conversation with Lord Keith and the governor of Gibraltar, promising, at the same time, to surrender himself before a judge, and to give notice of his appearance, on which promise he

was told that he might return on board: but, having entered his boat, he sent a Letter to the Admiral, in which he refused to give the notice required. All this was represented to the Danish ministry by Mr. Merry, the British Envoy at Copenhagen, on the 10th of April 1800, and demand made, in the name of his government, for a disavowal, apology, and reparation. This affair, without any other reparation than a disavowal, was satisfactorily adjusted.

As it evidently was not the interest of Denmark to enter into a war with Great Britain, the resistance made by Captain Van Dockum, excited considerable surprise and much conjecture: but this surprise was still more excited by an engagement, which took place between a Danish frigate, the Freya, on the 25th July, 1800, at the mouth of the Channel, and no less than four English frigates, a brig, and a lugger! Here, as before, the right of search was resisted, and the consequence was a broadside from the English frigate, which was returned by the Danish; it was impossible, however, that she could sustain the unequal conflict, and she accordingly struck her colours. The Freya had five men killed and five wounded, and thirty shots in the hull; the English had five men killed, and several wounded. The Danish frigate, as well as convoy, was taken to the Downs.

As it was apprehended, that, in the present disposition of the Northern Powers, this incident might lead to a renewal of the armed neutrality, and an extension of the war; Lord Whitworth was sent, with a special mission, to the court of Denmark, for the prevention of extremities, and for the reconciliation of differences; and, that the representations with which he was charged might have the greater weight, he was supported by a squadron, under the command of Vice-admiral Dickson; consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb ships, and five gun-vessels.

This was decisive, and the Court of Denmark was ill prepared to resist a mission so accompanied; it was, therefore, agreed, that the Danish frigate and convoy, carried into Deal, were to be repaired at the expence of Great Britain. The discussion respecting the right, asserted by the English, of visiting convoys, to be adjourned to a farther negociation in London. Until this point should be decided, the Danish ships were to sail under convoys only in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of protection from the Barbary corsairs; and they were to be liable to be searched, as heretofore.

THE END OF CHAP. XXV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

*View of the Parliamentary Proceedings in England....
Assembling of the First Imperial Parliament... His Majesty's Speech upon the Occasion.... Return to the Northern Confederacy.... The Emperor Paul's zealous Endeavours.... Denmark and Sweden reluctantly join the League.... Correspondence between the Danish and Swedish Ambassadors and Lord Grenville.... Fears with regard to Prussia.... Note from Lord Carysfort to the Prussian Minister, and his Reply.*

ON the 22d January, 1801, the first Imperial Parliament, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was opened by Commission, when the Lord Chancellor acquainted the House of Commons that it was his Majesty's pleasure that they should immediately proceed to elect a Speaker. The Commons then withdrew, and elected their late Speaker, Mr. Addington. The King, however, did not meet the Parliament till the 2nd of February, when he delivered the following Speech from the throne.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" At a crisis so important to the interests of my people, I derive great satisfaction from being enabled, for the first time, to avail myself of the advice and assistance of the Parliament of my United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

" This memorable æra, distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the Empire, and to cement more closely the interests and affections of my subjects, will, I trust, be equally marked by that vigor, energy, and firmness, which the circumstances of our present situation peculiarly require.

" The unfortunate course of events on the continent, and the consequences which must be expected to result from it, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe.

" Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention, at such a period, appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British Empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against their common and increasing danger.

" The representations which I directed to be made to the Court of Petersburg, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect: and the proceedings of which I complain have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances, a Convention has been concluded by that Court with those of Copenhagen and Stockholm; the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing, by force, a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country.

" In this situation, I could not hesitate as to the conduct which it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggression of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, and which are grounded on the system of public law, so long established and recognised in Europe. I have, at the same time, given such assurances as manifest my disposition to renew my ancient relations with those powers, whenever it can be done consistently with the honour of my crown, and with a just regard to the safety of my subjects.

" You will, I am persuaded, omit nothing on your part that can afford me the most vigorous and effectual support, in my firm determination to maintain, to the utmost, against every attack, the naval rights, and the interests of my Empire.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have directed the estimates for the several branches of the public service to be laid before you. Deeply as I lament the continued necessity of adding to the burdens of my people; I am persuaded you will feel, with me, the importance of providing effectual means for those exertions which are indispensibly requisite for the honour and security of the country.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am confident that your deliberations will be uniformly directed to the great object of improving the benefits of that happy Union, which, by the blessing of Providence, has now been effected; and of promoting to the utmost the prosperity of every part of my dominions.

" You will, I doubt not, resume the inquiries which were so diligently prosecuted in the last Session of Parliament, as to the best

means of relieving my subjects from the pressure of the present high price of provisions, and of preventing, as far as it can be done by human foresight, the recurrence of similar difficulties. In these endeavours, and in every measure that can contribute to the happiness of my people, the great end of all my wishes, you may be assured of my cordial concurrence.

“ You may rely on my availing myself of the earliest opportunity which shall afford a prospect of terminating the present contest, on grounds consistent with our security and honour, and with the maintenance of those essential rights on which our naval strength must always depend. It will afford me the truest and most heartfelt satisfaction, whenever the disposition of our enemies shall enable me thus to restore to the subjects of the United Kingdom the blessings of peace, and thereby confirm and augment those advantages which result from our internal situation; and which, even under all the difficulties of war, have carried to so great an extent, the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue of this country.”

This Address, as usual, underwent examination, but nothing remarkable occurred during the debates. Congratulations on the successful termination of the Union with Ireland were pretty unanimous; and some party rancour, respecting our business with the Northern Powers, was poured out against the ministry. Let us, therefore, return to our Northern enemies.

The Emperor Paul, whose animosity against England was still on the increase, being informed of the capture and detention of the Danish frigate, with her convoy, laid an embargo on all English ships in his harbours. This, however, was taken off as soon as he learned that the dispute about the frigate was amicably adjusted; but his zealous endeavours to unite the other Northern Powers with himself, in confederacy against Great Britain, were continued. The same prince who, in 1798, applauded our detention of the Swedish convoy, and who threatened Denmark with war in 1799, for assisting the commerce of the French Republic, not only joined, but took the most active part, in a league among those very powers, for the purpose of assisting that common enemy, whom he had engaged to Britain, and to the world, to resist to the ut-

most extent of his power! He recruited his army as well as his navy: the movements of his troops towards the confines of Turkey in Europe appeared to indicate some plan concerted between him and Buonaparté, who had become his great idol, for the purpose of intimidating the Grand Seignior into some concessions as favourable to France as detrimental to England. The reason assigned by Paul, in the Petersburg Gazette, for setting on foot a great army on the side of the Baltic, and distributing it in certain stations, which were pointed out, was, "That several political circumstances induced his Majesty the Emperor to think that a rupture might ensue of the friendship between Russia and England." The most active preparations for naval war were, at the same time, carried on in all the Russian ports.

The rupture with England, which Paul had predicted as not improbable, was announced, together with the immediate cause that led to it, by the publication of an Official Note sent to the foreign ministers at the Russian Court, in the Petersburg Gazette. "Whereas his Imperial Majesty had learned that the Island of Malta, lately in the possession of the French, had been surrendered to the English troops; but, as it yet was uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the 30th of December, 1798, would be fulfilled, according to which that island was to be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias was Grand Master; his Imperial Majesty being determined to defend his rights, had been pleased to command, that an embargo should be laid on all English ships in the ports of his Empire till the above-mentioned Convention should be fulfilled."

By this time the Russian Envoy, Lisakwitch, had received orders from his Court to quit England, and to proceed to Copenhagen, where he was appointed ambassador.

In consequence of the Emperor's orders, not only an embargo was laid on near 300 British ships in the ports

of Petersburg, Riga, Revel, and Cronstadt, but the crews, with their commanders, were taken out of the vessels and dispersed into the interior parts of the country, to distances from a hundred to a thousand miles, in bodies of ten or twelve men each, and put into prison! a flagrant and mad act of injustice; a gross and infamous violation of the avowed intercourse of polished nations! Besides this, all British property on shore was sequestered; seals were placed on all warehouses containing English goods; and the owners were obliged to enter into recognisances to take inventories of their effects, and report the same to the government.

The preponderating power of the Russian Empire in the North must, at all times, have great influence on the measures of Sweden and Denmark. The authority of the Emperor Paul, combined with the maritime interests, or, as was contended, rights, of these kingdoms, and the irritated pride of the Swedish and Danish Courts, formed a confederacy of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, against the maritime claims of England; to which Prussia acceded, though under the strongest protestations, that this was considered by the Court of Berlin merely as a measure of prevention, and that it by no means intended anything hostile against Great Britain.

Neither Denmark nor Sweden readily or willingly acceded to this confederacy. The trade of Denmark was, at this period, in a remarkably flourishing condition, and a war with England, was, therefore, a thing which they could not anticipate with much pleasure. But, while Denmark hesitated, the Emperor of Russia threatened her with the severest marks of his displeasure if she should persist in her prudent plan of neutrality: Sweden, too, having once joined the league, solicited the accession of Denmark in a tone somewhat dictatorial. But this haughty tone of Russia and Sweden was, for a time, destructive of its ends; and Denmark feared more her Northern allies than the power against which they would incite her;

but the right of search, which was enforced by Great Britain every day with increased vigor, rendered it necessary that she should rely upon some power greater than herself, and she placed herself under the direction of the Court of Berlin.

The King of Prussia was now universally regarded as a party in the grand Confederation, which was well known among the Northern Powers. The mouths of the Elbe, the Vistula, the Weser, and Ems, lay within the precincts of those territories of whose neutrality he was the principal guardian; and these inlets gave him an opportunity of co-operating with the other Confederates as effectually as if Prussia had ranked among the first maritime powers; he could exclude the merchandise of England from those ports, and cut off the supplies of grain, which were eagerly expected in England at this time, which was a period of great scarcity.

Without the accession of Prussia the Northern Confederacy must have been incomplete; with the good-will, or even neutrality of Prussia, England might defy the intrigues of Buonaparté and brave the utmost rage of Russia, though seconded by so hardy and brave a country as Sweden. The accession of Prussia involving, of necessity, that of Denmark, completed the chain for excluding the English from the continent, from Petersburg and Stockholm, to the Straits of Gibraltar.

In consequence of these hostile measures exhibited in the North, the British Government, on the 14th January, 1801, ordered a seizure, not only in the way of retaliation on Russian ships, but on all vessels, belonging to any of the Confederate Powers, at that time in any of the ports of Great Britain, those of Prussia excepted; and letters of marque were granted, for the purpose of capturing a great variety of richly laden single vessels, as well as fleets, which were known to be working their way to the Baltic. A great number of vessels belonging to the Northern Powers, but mostly to the Danes and Swedes, were stop-

ped in our ports, and many taken at sea. Of 450 Swedish ships, that were abroad, it was estimated that 200 were either seized at sea or detained in English harbours!

On the day after that on which the order was issued for laying an embargo on the Northern ships (January 15), a Note was presented, by Lord Grenville, to the Danish and Swedish ambassadors at London, respecting the embargo that had been laid on the Danish and Swedish vessels. The substance and import of it was: "That his Britannic Majesty, being informed of the re-establishment of the armed neutrality of 1800 and 1801, and of the naval preparations in the Baltic, had determined, immediately, to adopt the most effectual measures for repelling the attack he had already experienced, and to oppose the effects of the confederacy armed against him. An embargo had been laid on all the Danish and Swedish ships in the ports belonging to his Majesty; but, in the execution of this measure, his Majesty would take care that no violent or severe proceedings should be exercised on the part of his Majesty towards innocent individuals. His Majesty was still animated by the most anxious desire that the circumstances which had rendered these steps necessary might cease, and that he might be enabled to return to those relations with the Courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen which existed between them, till that mutual good understanding was interrupted by the present attempts to renew former pretensions." To this Note the Danish ambassador, Count Järisberg, replied.—"That with respect to the principles of the Northern Powers, concerning the sacred rights of neutrality, they had not been abandoned. Russia, in her belligerent quality, had only suspended the application; and Denmark and Sweden had, by their Convention of the 17th March, 1794, declared, in the face of all Europe, that their system of protection in favour of innocent commerce was invariable: hence it followed, that his Danish Majesty now only

renewed ties which had not ceased to exist." The Baron, therefore, protested against proceedings of so hostile a nature.

The Swedish Envoy, Baron Ernsward, said, "That as the dispute between the Russian and English Courts related to the island of Malta, and the declaration of the Danish court referred to the convention of 1780, he could see no just reason why the Swedish Court, which had given no just cause of complaint to the English, should be attacked in so hostile a manner, before any answer had been given to the insinuations contained in a Note from the English to the Swedish ministry at Stockholm, 31st December. In conformity to orders from his Master, he protested formally against the embargo laid on the Swedish ships, and all loss or damage that might be thereby occasioned. He demanded, in the most forcible term, that, in pursuance of the treaty of 1661, the embargo might be taken off, the continuance of which could no otherwise be considered than as a designed and pre-meditated declaration of war on the part of England, as well by the detention of the convoy as in respect to the affair of Barcelona."

When Lord Grenville's notification was received at Stockholm, all Swedish vessels were immediately stopped from going to England, and an embargo was laid on all English ships in the Swedish harbours. After some farther civil remonstrances on both sides, the Swedish minister quitted England.

The Court of St. James's was disposed to deal with considerable delicacy with Prussia, because it was a power that was able not only to distress Great Britain in every point of view, but also to annoy its sovereign, by attacking the Electorate of Hanover. Lord Carysfort, the English ambassador at Berlin, in repeated Notes, represented the violent proceedings of Paul, and the unjust and hostile design of the Northern Powers in general, with many expressions of confidence, that, notwithstanding

various reports and appearances, his Prussian Majesty had not entered into the confederacy, to support, by force, principles in common with other powers, whose hostile views against his Britannic Majesty had been openly proved. The last of these Notes, dated at Berlin, January 27, 1801, concluded with the expression of a firm reliance, that, "whatever sentiments the Prussian Government might entertain in regard to the new principles of the armed neutrality themselves, it was too just, and knew too well what sovereigns owed to their people, and to one another, to favour for a moment the design to employ force, in order to induce his Britannic Majesty to acknowledge a code which the latter deemed inconsistent with the honour and security of his crown." Lord Carysfort received in answer, from the Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, a Note, bearing date the 12th February. It stated, among other particulars, "That his Prussian Majesty could not see without the utmost grief and concern, the violent and hasty measures to which the Court of London had proceeded against the Northern naval powers; the negociation that had lately been carried on among whom was founded in justice and moderation, as the communication of a copy of the Convention, to such of the belligerent powers as had the justice and patience to wait for it, would fully prove. The British Government had in the present, more than in any former wars, usurped the sovereignty of the seas; and, by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercised over the other friendly and neutral powers a usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintained, and which it considered as an imprescriptible right, sanctioned by all the other tribunals of Europe. The sovereigns had never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals, and of subjecting them to its laws, in cases where the abuse of power had got the better of equity, and which were but too frequent. The

neutral powers had always had the precaution of addressing to it the most energetic proclamations and protests, but experience had ever proved their reclamations fruitless; and it was not surprising, that, after so many repeated acts of oppression they had resolved to find a remedy against it, and, for that purpose, to establish a well arranged Convention, which fixed their rights, and placed them on a proper level, even with the powers at war. This naval alliance, in the manner in which it had just been consolidated, was intended to lead to that salutary end; and the King hesitated not to declare to his Britannic Majesty, that he had again found in it his own principles: that he was fully convinced of its necessity and utility; and that he had formally acceded to the Convention which had been concluded on the 16th of December, last year, between the Courts of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. His Majesty was, therefore, among the number of the contracting parties, and had bound himself, in that quality, not only to take a direct share in all the events which interested the cause of the Neutral Powers, but also, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connexion by such *powerful measures as the impulse of circumstances might require*. Unpleasant as the extremes might be to which England had proceeded, yet his Majesty doubted not the possibility of a speedy return to conciliating and peaceable dispositions; and he relied on the sentiments of equity which, on former occasions, he had had the advantage of meeting with in his Britannic Majesty. It was only by revoking and entirely taking off the embargo that affairs could be brought to their former situation: while measures existed, which had been resorted to from a common principle, and against an alliance which could no longer be shaken, the hostile resolution, which would be the consequence, would be the necessary result of the Treaty; and the Prussian minister was authorised to declare to the minister of his Britannic Majesty, "That the King, while he expressed his concern at events of

which he had not been the cause, would sacredly fulfil the engagements which had been prescribed to him, by treaties.

From this Note, it was evident that nothing was to be expected from the neutrality of Prussia, and the very circumstances which were most dreaded by England precisely happened; viz. the exclusion of the English commerce from the great rivers of Prussia, and the invasion of Hanover.

About the same time a body of Danish troops, to the amount of 15,000, under the command of Prince Charles, Landgrave of Hesse, a field-marshal in the Danish service, and father-in-law to the Prince Royal of Denmark, there called The Crown Prince, took possession of Hamburgh, in order, as was declared by a notification, published at the Exchange of Hamburgh, April 3d, to stop the British navigation and trade on the Elbe. An embargo had already, on the 20th March, been laid on the British ships at Copenhagen, and the other ports of Denmark.

How often do we forget our own vices when we accuse our neighbour! Denmark, who was guilty, here, of a gross violation of the rights of nations, who entered a peaceable and a commercial town with all the horrors of war, merely to injure and impede the commerce of a distant enemy; that very government, who had acted so flagitiously on this occasion, how loudly has she stigmatized our conduct on a late event, when we bombarded her capital, and took away her navy! If we accuse her home of her own conduct towards Hamburgh, there is not an excuse she could alledge, which would not also palliate us ten-times more; and, if she be silent, why then, let her cease to execrate a conduct, the first example of which she herself set.

When the intentions of Prince Charles of Hesse were announced to the Senate of Hamburgh, March 28th, it sent deputies, the next day, to his Highness at Penneberg, a town of Holstein, about fifteen English miles from

Hamburgh, to make the strongest representations against a measure so violent and unexpected. The Prince, without hesitation, declared his intention of summoning the city to surrender, next morning, to his troops, and even to use force, in case of resistance. At the same time the deputies received the most satisfactory assurances that no fears ought to be entertained for the independence of the city of Hamburgh, or the property of individuals; and, further, that his Highness would be satisfied with the possession of the gates and walls, without requiring any troops to be quartered in the city. The Senate assembled in the night, and unanimously resolved, that it was better to yield to force than to expose the city to greater force in consequence of any resistance. On the morning of the 23d, the gate called The Millenthor, and a part of the fortifications, were immediately given up to a corps of Danish troops, and without the least interruption of the public tranquillity. The British Consul at Hamburgh, considering the critical situation of affairs, had given repeated information and advice to the captains of British vessels in the Elbe to accelerate their departure. Some took the warning; others, not easily believing that anything seriously hostile was to be apprehended from the Danes or Prussians, were not in haste, and were detained accordingly.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Measures adopted by the English Ministry....A Plenipotentiary extraordinary sent to Copenhagen, and a large Fleet, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker....The bloody Battle of Copenhagen, under Lord Nelson.... A Flag of Truce sent in....Death of the Emperor Paul....His famous Challenge....The Northern Confederacy broken by that Event, and a Convention agreed upon between Russia and England....Acceded to, afterwards, by the Kings of Denmark and Sweden....The liberal Conduct of the English towards the Danes.

IN such a crisis of affairs, the English ministry adopted a plan somewhat similar to that which had been so effectual about six months before: they sent a negotiator, backed by a powerful fleet.

Meanwhile, the young King of Sweden, in making a tour of his dominions, for the purpose of inspecting its points of defence, had an interview with the Crown Prince of Denmark, and they mutually concerted the most vigorous measures of defence. Their great object was, to secure the passage of the Sound, by erecting strong fortifications and batteries, both on the Swedish and Danish sides.

Mr. Vansittart, who was the bearer of dispatches to the English minister at Copenhagen, arrived at Elsineur, in a frigate, on the 30th of March: he was vested with the powers of a plenipotentiary extraordinary. The *ultimatum* presented to the Danish government required, that Denmark should secede from the Northern alliance; that a free passage through the Sound should be granted to the English fleet; and that the Danish ships should no longer sail with convoy. This was rejected; and, accordingly, our ministers, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Vansittart, returned home.

A fleet, consisting of 18 ships of the line, four frigates, and a number of bomb and gun-boats, amounting, in all, to 52 sail, and having on board several regiments of marines and of riflemen, sailed from Yarmouth, on the 12th of March, for the Baltic. In the night between the 22d and 23d it sailed from Anholt to Gilleleve, on the Northern coast of Zealand, and there anchored.

We will now endeavour to give a statement of the confederated navies:

The Danish navy consisted of 23 ships of the line, one or two unfit for service, and most of them in bad order. They had 14 frigates, and cutter-brigs from 20 to 40 guns, 17 gun-boats of 24 guns each, together with guard-ships.

The Swedes had 18 ships of the line, 14 frigates, sloops, and other vessels of war, and 74 gallies and flat-bottomed boats, besides gun-boats. The Swedish fleet was supposed to be better manned than either that of Denmark or Russia.

The whole navy of Russia consisted of 82 sail of the line, besides near 40 frigates, exclusive of gallies and other small craft: but some of these were unfit for service, and the greater part badly manned.

This aggregate of naval force, on hostile shores and narrow and dangerous seas, might have been formidable, even to a British navy, if it could have acted in unity and consort.

The British Admiral, Sir Hyde Parker, desirous to know whether the Danes intended to oppose his passage of the Sound, sent a note, on the 27th of March, to the governor of Cronenberg Castle, to know whether he would fire if he attempted to pass. The governor, Heer Stricker, replied, in an ambiguous manner; which left, however, no doubt of the hostile intentions of Denmark. Sir Hyde Parker, accordingly, returned an answer, saying, "That he considered the war as formally declared."

On the 30th of March, the wind having come to the Northward, the British fleet passed the Sound and an-

chored about five or six miles from the Island of Huin. It was fired on from the castle of Cronenberg, which it bombarded in return. There was no firing from the Swedish coast, so that our ships were able to keep at a greater distance from the castle.

It being resolved to attack the Danes, the Vice-admiral, Lord Nelson, offered his services to conduct it. After having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the Middle Sound, he proceeded, with 12 ships of the line, all the frigates, bombs, fire-ships, and all the small vessels; and, on the same evening, April 1st, anchored off Draco Point, to make his disposition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the Southward. It was agreed on between the Admiral and Vice-admiral, that the ships remaining with the Admiral should weigh at the same moment his Lordship did, and menace the Crown Batteries, and four Danish ships of the line, that lay at the entrance of the arsenal; as also, to cover our disabled ships as they should come out of the action.

On the morning of April 2nd, Lord Nelson made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, 11 floating batteries, of 24 and 18 pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels. These were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting 88 cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the Island of Amack. The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape. The other 17 sail, being the whole of the Danish line to the Southward of the Crown Islands, after a battle of four hours, were sunk, burnt, or taken. The action began at five minutes past ten: the Van was led by Captain George Murray, of the Edgar, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was followed by every captain, officer, and man in the navy. The loss in such a battle was naturally very heavy. The total amount of the killed and wounded was stated

at 943. Among the killed was the gallant and amiable Captain Riou, and Captain Moss, of the *Monarch*: among the wounded, Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the *Bellona*, who lost his leg.

The carnage on board the Danish ships was excessive; it was calculated by the Commander-in-Chief, Oliver Fisher, at 1,800! The vessels were crowded with men; and, from some singular neglect, (probably originating in the idea of the wounded being so near the city that they could be immediately accommodated there,) there was not on board their block-ships a single surgeon: when our people boarded them they found hundreds bleeding to death! As soon as the fire of the Danish line had slackened, and Lord Nelson perceived that the ships and batteries of the enemy were in his power, he went to his cabin, and wrote a letter to the Prince Royal, representing the expediency of allowing a flag of truce to pass; and stating, that, if this was denied, he should be under the necessity of destroying the floating batteries, now in his power, while it would be impossible to save those brave men by whom they were defended. This Note was addressed, "To the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes." When, in consequence of this representation, he received permission to land, and went on shore to adjust terms of conciliation, he was received by the brave and generous Danes with the loudest acclamations, and treated by the accomplished Prince of Denmark with every mark of respect. The immediate consequence of their conference was an armistice, which soon led to an amicable Convention.

This was a memorable and a most bloody engagement: the Danes fought with inconceivable intrepidity. Lord Nelson told the Crown Prince's aid-de-camp, Colonel Lundholm, who waited upon him respecting the proffered flag of truce, that "the French fought bravely, but that they could not have stood an hour the fight which the Danes maintained for four. I have been in 105 engage-

ments," said he, "in the course of my life, but that of to-day was the most terrible of all."

The Swedish fleet at Carlsroon, left that port the 31st of March, but was prevented from joining the Danes by contrary winds.

On the 22nd of March the Danish and Swedish isles in the West Indies were reduced, by a squadron under Admiral Duckworth.

The proposals made by Lord Nelson, in the conference with the Prince of Denmark, are said to have been these:—1st. That Denmark should recede from its alliance with Russia:—2nd. That the English should be permitted to repair their ships in the Danish docks.—3rd. That the wounded on board of the English fleet should be taken care of in Danish hospitals. The last of these conditions was readily granted, the others rejected. An armistice, however, was agreed to, and prolonged from day to day. A notice of six hours, in case of an intention of renewing hostilities on either side, was to be given previously to the termination of the armistice.

It is evident that there were some points not easily agreed upon, and which impeded a solid pacification between this country and Denmark. But, whatever they might have been, they were done away by a fortunate event, which happened at this momentous period—the death of the Emperor Paul; a tyrannical madman, whose capricious fancies were the only impulses of his conduct, and who was the very soul and moving principle of this Northern Confederacy. He was found dead in his bed on the night of the 22nd of March. This sudden and important event was joyful to all—France excepted, who had promised itself advantages, from the frantic passions of Paul, which it could never hope from the sedate councils of a wise and prudent monarch.

To detail the many mad and extravagant actions of this monarch would be tedious and disgusting: they are, in fact, like those of every other fool or idiot. Yet, as a

precious morsel of insanity, we will record to posterity his famous Challenge to the potentates of Europe.

A few days before the young King of Sweden (who had gone to concert the measures of the Armed Neutrality) left Petersburg, the Emperor gave a tournament, a diversion of which he was very fond, and in which he performed, personally, as a combatant. In the evening, while the glass was in circulation, a dispatch was received from Buonaparté, together with several caricatures, said to be published in England, in which Paul was represented as a lunatic. The conversation turned on the military successes of his new French friends; the projects formed by the Northern Confederacy to humble the pride of England, and the invincible prowess which the Emperor had displayed all day long in the tournament. His Majesty, fired with the spirit of chivalry, immediately resolved to send a defiance to all the potentates of Europe. The court gazette of St. Petersburg, December 30th, 1800, contained the following: "It is said, that his Majesty the Emperor, seeing that the powers of Europe cannot agree, and wishing to terminate a war which has raged eleven years, intends to propose a plan, where he will invite all other potentates to fight with them, in barriers closed up: for which purpose, they are to bring with them their most enlightened ministers and most skilful generals, as squires, umpires, and heralds; such as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstorff. He himself, intends to have with him Count Vander Pahlen, and Count Ruto-soff."

It cannot be thought surprising that so mad a king should find enemies. The Court gave out that he died of an apoplexy; but it has, since, been well known that his death was the effect of a conspiracy. It matters not, however, which way he died: the effects, were to all Europe, France excepted, most instantaneous and salutary. The new Emperor, Alexander, who was immediately proclaimed, declared for the laws and system of

his august grandmother. It was among the first acts of his reign to release all those British seamen who had been thrown into prison by Paul. All prohibitions against the exportation of corn were removed, and the exportation of all kinds of grain permitted. Peace and good understanding were reestablished between the Courts of London and Petersburg, and all disputes between Great Britain and the Northern Powers were amicably adjusted. The following Convention was agreed to between this country and Russia:

CONVENTION

With the COURT OF LONDON; signed at St. PETERSBURGH the 5th, (17th June,) 1801.

— IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

THE mutual desire of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being, not only to come to an understanding between themselves, with respect to the differences which have lately interrupted the good understanding and friendly relations which subsisted between the two States; but, also, to prevent, by frank and precise explanations upon the navigation of their respective subjects, the renewal of similar altercations and troubles, which might be the consequence of them; and the object of the solicitude of their said Majesties being, to settle, as soon as can be done, an equitable arrangement of those differences, and an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality, in their application to their respective monarchies; in order to unite more closely the ties of friendship and good intercourse, of which they acknowledge the utility and the benefits, have named and chosen for their plenipotentiaries, viz; his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Nikita, Count de Panin, his Counsellor, &c. and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Baron St. Helens, Privy Counsellor, &c. who, after having communicated their full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following points and articles:

ART. I. There shall be, hereafter, between his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and his Britannic Majesty, their subjects, the states, and countries under their domination, good and unalterable friendship and understanding; and all the political, commercial, and other relations of common utility, between the respective sub-

jects shall subsist, as formerly, without their being disturbed or troubled in any manner whatever.

ART. II. His Majesty the Emperor, and his Britannic Majesty, declare, that they will take the most especial care of the execution of the prohibitions against the trade of contraband of their subjects with the enemies of each of the high-Contracting Parties.

ART. III. His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and his Britannic Majesty, having resolved to place under a sufficient safeguard, the freedom of commerce and navigation of their subjects, in case one of them shall be at war whilst the other shall be neuter, have agreed.

1. That the ships of the neutral power shall navigate freely to the ports and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

2. That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed not to comprise in the number of the latter the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account, which merchandise cannot be excepted, in any case, from the freedom granted to the flag of the same power.

3. That, in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be qualified as contraband of war, his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and his Britannic Majesty declare, conformably to the 11th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such only the following objects; viz. cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, swordbelts, pouches, saddles and bridles; excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew; and all other articles whatever, not enumerated here, shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and, of course, pass freely, without being subject to the smallest difficulty, unless they be considered as enemy's property in the above-settled sense. It is also agreed, that which is stipulated in the present Article shall not be to the prejudice of the particular stipulations of one or the other crowns with other powers, by which objects of similar kind should be reserved, prohibited, or permitted.

4. That, in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

5. That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay; and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

In order the better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high Contracting Parties enter here into the most formal engagements, to renew the severest prohibitions to their captains, either of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal on board their ships, any of the objects, which, in the terms of the present Convention, may be reputed contraband, and respectively to take care of the execution of the orders, which they shall have published in their admiralities and wherever it shall be necessary.

IV. The Two high Contracting Parties, wishing to prevent all subjects of dissension in future, by limiting the right of search of merchant ships going under convoy to the sole causes in which the belligerent power may experience a real prejudice, by the abuse of the neutral flag, have agreed:

1. That the right of searching merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the Contracting Powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the said power, shall only be exercised by ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fitters out of privateers or other vessels which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their Majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

2. That the proprietors of all merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the Contracting Sovereigns, which shall be destined to sail under convoy of a ship of war, shall be required, before they receive their sailing orders, to produce to the commander of the convoy their passports and certificates, or sea letters, in the form annexed to the present Treaty.

3. That when such ships of war, and every merchant ship under convoy, shall be met with by a ship or ships of war of the other contracting party, who shall then be in a state of war; in order to avoid all disorder, they shall keep out of cannon-shot, unless the situation of the sea, or the place of meeting, render a nearer approach necessary; and the commander of the ship of the belligerent power shall send a sloop on board the convoy, where they shall proceed, reciprocally, to the verification of the papers and certificates that are to prove, on one part, that the ship of war is authorised to take under its escort such or such merchant ships of its nation, laden with such a cargo, and for such a port: on the other part, that the ship of war of the belligerent party belongs to the imperial or royal fleet of their Majesties.

4. This verification made, there shall be no pretence for any search,

f the papers are found in due form, and if there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war or ships of war of the belligerent power) is to bring to and detain his convoy during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to assist at the search of the said ship, which shall be done in his presence on board each merchant ship, conjointly with one or more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the belligerent party.

5. If it happen that the captain of the ship or ships of war of the power at war, having examined the papers found on board, and having interrogated the master and crew of the ship, shall see just and sufficient reason to detain the merchant ship, in order to proceed to an ulterior search, he shall notify that intention to the captain of the convoy, who shall have the power to order an officer to remain on board the ship thus detained and to assist at the examination of the cause of her detention. The merchant ship shall be carried, immediately, to the nearest and most convenient port belonging to the belligerent power, and the ulterior search shall be carried on with all possible diligence.

V. It is also agreed, That if any merchant ships thus convoyed should be detained without just and sufficient cause, the commander of the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power shall not only be bound to make to the owners of the ship and of the cargo a full and perfect compensation for all the losses, expences, damages, and costs, occasioned by such a detention; but shall, further, be liable to an ulterior punishment for every act of violence or other fault which he may have committed, according as the nature of the case may require. On the other hand, no ships of war with a convoy shall be permitted, under any pretext whatsoever, to resist by force the detention of a merchant ship or ships by the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power; an obligation which the commander of a ship of war with convoy is not bound to observe towards privateers and their fitters out.

VI. The high Contracting Powers shall give precise and efficacious orders, that the sentences upon prizes made at sea shall be conformable with the rules of the most exact justice and equity; that they shall be given by judges above suspicion, and who shall not be interested in the matter. The Government of the respective States shall take care that the said sentences shall be promptly and duly executed, according to the forms prescribed. In case of the unfounded detention, or other contravention of the regulations stipulated by the present Treaty, the owners of such ship and cargo shall be allowed damages proportioned to the loss occasioned by such detention. The rules to observe for

these damages, and for the case of unfounded detention, as also the principles to follow for the purpose of accelerating the process, shall be the matter of additional Articles, which the Contracting Parties agree to settle between them, and which shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted in the present Act. For this effect their Imperial and Britannic Majesties mutually engage to put their stipulations, and to communicate to each other, without delay, the views which may be suggested to them by their equal solicitude to prevent the least grounds for dispute in future.

VII. To obviate all the inconveniences which may arise from the bad faith of those who avail themselves of the flag of a nation without belonging to it, it is agreed to establish, for an inviolable rule, that any vessel whatever, to be considered as the property of the country the flag of which it carries, must have on board the captain of the ship and one half of the crew of the people of that country, and the papers and passports in due and perfect form; but every vessel which shall not observe this rule, and which shall infringe the ordinances published on that head, shall lose all right to the protection of the Contracting Powers.

VIII. The principles and measures adopted by the present Act shall be alike applicable to all the maritime wars in which one of the two Powers may be engaged whilst the other remains neutral. These Stipulations shall, in consequence, be regarded as permanent, and shall serve for a constant rule to the Contracting Powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

IX. His Majesty the King of Denmark, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, shall be immediately invited by his Imperial Majesty, in the name of the Two Contracting Parties, to accede to the present Convention, and, at the same time, to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce with his Britannic Majesty; and his said Majesty engages, by acts which shall have established that agreement, to render and restore to each of these powers all the prizes that have been taken from them, as well as the territories and countries under their domination, which have been conquered by the arms of his Britannic Majesty since the rupture, in the state in which those possessions were found at the period at which the troops of his Britannic Majesty entered them. The orders of his said Majesty for the restitution of those prizes and conquests shall be immediately expedited after the exchange of the ratification of the acts by which Sweden and Denmark shall accede to the present Treaty.

X. The present Convention shall be ratified by the Two Contracting Parties, and the ratifications exchanged, at St. Petersburg, in the space of two months, at farthest, from the day of the signature.

In faith of which, the respective Plenipotentiaries have caused to be made two copies, perfectly similar, signed with their hands, and have sealed with their arms.

(L. S.)	N. COUNT DE PANIN.
(L. S.)	ST. HELEN'S.

Done at Petersburg, the 5th
(17th) June, 1801.

By this Convention the Northern Powers obtained two considerable points: first, a limitation of the right of search; and, secondly, a diminution of articles deemed contraband of war. The negociation, however, was too intricate and too important to the Contracting Parties to be at once finally settled: the following separate Articles and explanations were, afterwards, added; and which we here give, not only from their real interest, but because, at this moment, apprehensions are entertained of a similar confederacy being established.

*First separate Article of the CONVENTION with the COURT OF LONDON;
signed the 5th (17th) June, 1801.*

The pure and magnanimous intentions of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having already induced him to restore the vessels and goods of British subjects, which had been sequestered in Russia, his said Majesty confirms that disposition in its whole extent; and his Britannic Majesty engages also to give immediate orders for taking off all sequestration laid upon the Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties detained in English ports; and, to prove still more his sincere desire to terminate amicably the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the Northern Courts: and in order that no new incident may throw obstacles in the way of this salutary work, his Britannic Majesty binds himself to give orders to the commanders of his forces by land and sea, that the armistice now subsisting with the Courts of Denmark and Sweden shall be prolonged for a term of three months, from the date of this day; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, guided by the same motives, undertakes, in the name of his Allies, to have his armistice maintained during the said term.

*Second separate Article of the CONVENTION with the COURT OF LONDON;
signed at Petersburg, the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.*

The differences and misunderstandings which subsisted between his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his Majesty the

King of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being thus terminated, and the precautions taken by the present Convention not giving farther room to fear that they may be able to disturb, in future, the harmony and good understanding which the Two high Contracting Parties have at heart to consolidate; their said Majesties confirm anew, by the present Convention, the treaty of commerce of the 10th (February 21, 1797) of which all the stipulations are here repeated, to be maintained in their whole extent.

*Additional Articles to the CONVENTION between ENGLAND and RUSSIA,
of the 17th of June, 1801.*

It having been resolved, by the 5th Article of the Convention, concluded on the 17th of June, 1801, between his Imperial Majesty of Russia and his Britannic Majesty, that both the high Contracting Powers should mutually agree upon certain separate Articles for the establishing of those rules and principles which are to be followed, with a view to promote a speedy decision in respect to prizes made in the open sea, as well as with respect to the indemnification which is due to the proprietors of neutral ships and cargoes, in case of a groundless detention: their Majesties have, for that purpose, named, and vested with full power; his Imperial Majesty of Russia, Alexander, Prince Kurakin, his Vice-chancellor, &c.; and Victor Count Knotschoubey, his actual Privy Counsellor, &c.: and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helen's, Peer of the said United Kingdom, &c.; who, by virtue of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ART. I. In case of a groundless detention, or other transgression of rules mutually established, there shall be paid to the owners of the ships so detained, and of their cargo, for each day's delay, a recompense, in proportion to the loss sustained, reckoning according to the freight of the ship and the quality of the cargo.

II. In case the ministers of the Contracting Parties, or other persons accredited by them with the belligerent powers, shall happen to complain of the sentence given on such prizes by the respective courts of admiralty, the business shall be immediately referred by appeal, in Russia, to the Directing Senate; and, in Great Britain, to the King's Council.

III. Both sides shall carefully examine whether the regulations and provisions in the present Convention have been observed, which must be done in the speediest manner. Both Contracting Parties engage, farther, to adopt the most effectual means to prevent every unnecessary delay in respect to the sentences to be pronounced in the respective tribunals, on prizes made in the open sea.

IV. The effects detained shall neither be sold nor unloaded before a final sentence, unless in the case of a really pressing necessity, shewn to the Court of Admiralty by a commission appointed for that purpose; and it shall by no means be permitted to the captors to unload of their own authority, or carry away anything from ships so detained.

These separate Articles, which form a part of the Convention signed on the 17th of June, in the names of their Imperial Russian and Britannic Majesties, shall have the same force and effect as if they were, word for word, inserted in the said Convention.

(Signed)

PRINCE KURAKIN.

COUNT KOTSCHOUBEY.

St. HELENS.

Moscow, October 20, 1801.

DECLARATION, explanatory of the Second Section of the Third Article of the CONVENTION, concluded at PETERSBURGH, 5th (17th) of June, 1801, between his MAJESTY and the EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; signed at Moscow the 8th (20th) October 1801.

In order to prevent any doubt or misunderstanding with regard to the contents of the Second Section of the Third Article of the Convention, concluded the 5th (17th) of June, 1801, between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; the said high Contracting Parties have agreed and declare, that the freedom of commerce and navigation, granted by the said Article to the subjects of a neutral power, does not authorise them to carry, in time of war, the produce or merchandise of any of the colonies of the belligerent power direct to the continental possessions, nor *vice versa*, from the mother country to the enemy's colonies; but that the said subjects are, however, to enjoy the same advantages and facilities in this commerce as are enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and especially by the United states of America.

In witness whereof, we, Plenipotentiaries of their said Majesties, have signed the present Declaration, and have affixed the seal of our arms thereunto.

(L.S.)

St. HELENS.

(L.S.)

LE PRINCE DE KURARIN.

(L.S.)

LE COMTE DE KOTSCHOUBEY.

At Moscow, 8th (30th) October.

While the negotiation was going on we had a fleet in the Baltic of 25 sail of the line, and nearly 45 frigates, sloops, bombs, and gun-vessels. The chief division of

the fleet, under Lord Nelson, and Admiral Graves, lay in Kiøge Bay; and another, under Admiral Totty, off Bornholm; Captain Murray, with a small squadron, was off Dantzic; and Lord H. Poulett cruised, with a few ships, off Rostóc. The Danish troops evacuated Hamburgh; and the free navigation of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, was restored; and the Court of Berlin gave assurances that the Prussian troops should evacuate Hanover.

Denmark, who had been the only sufferer in this war, was not backward to enter on the career of peace. By the following Act she recognised the Treaty which had been signed between England and Russia: and Sweden following somewhat later, also recognized it, and thus was this formidable Conspiracy broken and dispersed.

Act of Accession of his Majesty the King of DENMARK and NORWAY to the Convention of the 5th (17th) June, 1801; and Acceptance of his Majesty the King of the UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having, in pursuance of their mutual desire to terminate, in the most equitable manner, the differences which had arisen between them, as well as between Great Britain and the other maritime powers of the North, respecting the navigation of their respective subjects, concluded a Convention signed by their Plenipotentiaries at St. Petersburg, the 5th (17th) of June, of the present year; and their common solicitude extending itself not only to prevent similar altercations in future, and the troubles that might result therefrom, by establishing and applying the principles and rights of neutrality in their respective monarchies, but also to render this system common and equally advantageous to the maritime powers of the North; it was stipulated by the Ninth Article of the said Convention, that his Danish Majesty should be invited by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in the name of the high Contracting Parties, to accede to the said Convention; and his Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, animated with the same sentiments of conciliation and peace, and desirous of removing every thing that has interrupted, or might hereafter interrupt, the good understanding between their Britannic and Danish Majesties, and to re-establish fully, on its former footing, the ancient harmony and state of things, such as they existed by his Danish Ma-

esty's treaties and conventions with Great Britain; his said Majesty has not hesitated to listen to the invitation made to him to accede to the said Convention, signed at St. Petersburg, the 5th, (17th) of June last.

To effect this salutary purpose, and to give to this act of accession, and to the acceptance of his Britannic Majesty, every possible authenticity, and every accustomed solemnity; their said Majesties have named for their Plenipotentiaries: viz. his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helens, a Peer of the said United Kingdom; of his said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias: and his Majesty, the King of Denmark and Norway; the Sieur Francis Favier Joseph, Count de Dannieskiold Louvenchal, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Major-general in the service of his Danish Majesty, Commander of his Marine Forces, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; who, after having reciprocally exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have concluded and agreed, that all the Articles of the Convention concluded between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the 5th (17th) June of the present year, as well as the separate Articles annexed thereto, and the additional ones, concluded the 8th (20th) October, 1801, by the Plenipotentiaries of their said Majesties, in all the clauses, conditions, and obligations, are to be considered as having been agreed upon, done, and concluded, word for word, by their Britannic and Danish Majesties themselves, in quality of principal Contracting Parties; save and except the differences which result from the nature of the treaties and engagements antecedently subsisting between England and Denmark, of which the continuance and renewal are secured by the aforesaid Convention; and with the express stipulation, on the part of the high Contracting and acceding Parties, that the stipulation of the Second Article of the Additional Articles, signed at Moscow the 8th (20th) October, 1801, by the Plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and Imperial Majesties, which fixes that the adjudication of causes in litigation, shall, in the last resort, be carried by appeal; in Russia, before the Directing Senate; and, in Great Britain, before his Majesty's Privy Council, is to be understood, as with regard to Denmark, that the said adjudications shall be then carried by appeal before the supreme tribunal of that kingdom.

In order to prevent any inaccuracy, it has been agreed that the said Convention, signed the 5th (17th) June, the separate Articles an-

nexed thereto, and the additional ones concluded the 8th (20th) October, 1801, should be inserted here, word for word.

[*Fiat insertio.*]

In consequence of all which his Majesty the King of Denmark accedes, by virtue of the present Act, to the said Convention, and to the said separate and additional Articles, such as they are hereinbefore transcribed, without any exception or reserve; declaring and promising to fulfil all the clauses, conditions, and obligations thereof, as far as regards himself; and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, accepts the present accession of his Danish Majesty; and, in like manner, promises, on his part, to fulfil all the articles, clauses, and conditions, contained in the said Convention, and the separate and additional Articles hereinbefore inserted, without any exception or reserve.

The ratifications of the present Act of Accession and Acceptance shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible; and the stipulations of the said Convention shall, at the same time, be carried into execution as speedily as possible, regard being had to the full and entire re-establishment of the state of things, such as it was before the period of the misunderstandings, which are now so happily terminated.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present Act, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at Moscow, the 11th (23d) October, 1801.

(L. S.)

ST. HELENS.

(L. S.)

F. X. CT. DE DANNESKJOLD.

LOWENDAL.

The termination of hostilities between Great Britain and Denmark was highly gratifying to both parties. The Prince of Denmark sent a Letter to his uncle, our King, by the honourable Colonel Stuart. When the embargo that had been laid on the Danish ships in the British ports, was, in consequence of the pacification, taken off, the expence, both of laying it on and taking it off, was defrayed out of the English treasury; an act of mildness and liberality which was equally gratifying to both countries.

THE END OF CHAP. XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Some general Remarks respecting Buonaparté's Views upon this Country; and his projected Invasion of it....The Alarm excited by his Threats and Preparations...The prudent Vigilance of our Ministry...The warlike Appearance of England....Our immense naval Strength at this Period....Capture of some English Frigates....Battle between Sir James Saumarez and Admiral Lincolin, off Algeiras....Its unsuccessful Termination....Second Battle, and its splendid Success...Vain boasting and glorying of the French....Change of Ministry....Sir Sidney Smith's Pension...Prorogation of Parliament.

BUONAPARTE, vexed and disappointed at this amicable adjustment of our affairs in the North, and daily receiving news of the prosperous issue of our arms in Egypt, felt himself, as it were, cut off from all hopes and possibility of annoying us externally: yet the same motives for action, of some sort, still prevailed in his mind; nor was he influenced less by political rancor than by political subtlety. England, he foresaw, would be a constant impediment in his way; it might not, indeed from its situation, it could not, operate immediately to his prejudice, by checking or subverting any act of his, or any schemes of ambition: but still it would be a thorn to him, a spider in his sight, which he could not brush away; a constant enemy, whose motions would perpetually excite his alarms; and a powerful one, who might annihilate his navy, and, ultimately, shake his own power. We are firmly of opinion, that Buonaparté, notwithstanding his sanguine character, and the gigantic plans which his mind has devised, and his prowess executed, never seriously believed it possible to effect any thing upon our own shores; he never entertained so bold a hope as

that of conquering us on land. Affecting to consider us merely as a commercial nation, who drew all its strength, its very life-blood, from trade, it was always his favourite project to destroy our commerce, and shut us up in our island; but that must now be abandoned, for the present, and other schemes resorted to; among which the most prominent was that of invasion.

We have not yet forgotten how this tocsin was rung in our ears, and what alarms were excited throughout England, and especially on the coasts, where it was, every day, expected a French army would land, ravage all before them, march up to London, send the King to the tower, murder the princes, marry the princesses to French generals, and seat, perhaps, a Buonaparté on the throne of England! Fears, even more extravagant and absurd than these were felt and promulgated, by certain croakers, who scented slaughter like a raven: we were to be utterly annihilated; expatriated: England was to be colonised from France and become a maritime department! But it were endless to remember half the frantic and irrational fears of this moment. But, while we ridicule the apprehensions of the weak, let us not forget the valour of the brave: there was a unanimity of sentiment, an ardour, a confidence, and a proud defiance, prevailing so universally throughout the kingdom, that, had it been brought to the issue, our brave armies going to the field might have been compared to the bands of Lacedemonians who opposed the overwhelming torrents of Xerxes. Aware of this spirit, which animated all ranks of people, Buonaparté felt still more deeply the hopelessness of such an enterprise: yet it was convenient to foster the idea of invasion.

He made great preparations: a grand camp was formed at Atriens; it was occupied by detachments from what was called *the chosen army*, commanded by General Murat, and was strengthened, from time to time, by ad-

ditional numbers: a camp was also formed between Bruges and Ostend; another between Gravelines and Dunkirk; and a fourth at Boulogne: this last was the principal point whence the invading army were to proceed. These four camps, by the month of July 1801, were occupied by a great number of troops, among whom were many emigrant Irishmen. The building of ships, and other preparations for an immense naval armament, was carried off with great activity all along the Dutch and Flemish coasts, as well as those of France. Rumors were industriously spread, and credited, that numerous armies, were to be transported, in French and Spanish ships, over to England. Certain it is, that, after the Peace of Luneville, Buonaparté had a very great disposeable force: all was in motion from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Garonne. The islands of Jersey and Guernsey were threatened with immediate invasion: The combined fleets of France and Spain, that lay in the harbour of Brest, amounted, as early as January 1801, to 52 sail of the line!

Buonaparté, in order to combine his preparations at land with his preparations by sea, and to restore and improve the navy, had lately divided the whole extent of the sea coasts of France into six maritime prefectures; namely, those of Brest, Toulon, L'Orient, Rochfort, Havre, and Antwerp. Not only ships, but gun-boats and flat-bottomed boats, were equipped, under the direction of the prefects, along the whole line of the coasts. Redoubts were thrown up, and furnaces prepared for the heating of balls, in places supposed to be most liable to attacks by the English. Telegraphs were erected, for communication among the different prefectures, with one another, and with Paris. Proclamations were issued, from time to time, by the prefects, calculated to animate the courage and the hopes of the French seamen.

The British Government beheld these preparations with prudent anxiety: they hardly feared the issue, yet they

were too wise to despise the attempt. The whole nation, individually and collectively speaking, was anxious to meet the French, and to give a practical illustration of the received maxim, that "one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen:" for, notwithstanding the splendid successes of the French on the continent during the war, and the undoubted claims they possess to military heroism and courage; yet we are firmly convinced that two-thirds of the British army cherished that opinion of their own superiority: it was a useful one, which would produce solid advantages in the day of trial.

England, at this time, assumed a warlike appearance: field days and reviews were to be seen in every town, and almost in every parish; volunteers daily underwent the severest discipline: the mechanic and the tradesman forsook his tools and his shop and marched along, with the musket on his shoulder; they were ready to proceed to any place where the enemy might land, or to take upon themselves garrison duty, if it should be thought necessary to withdraw the regulars. Towards the end of July, when the preparations of the enemy were so forward as to menace an actual attempt, strong piquet guards were mounted all along the coast, and orders issued for all the volunteers of the Southern districts to be alert and in a state of preparation to march on a moment's warning. Four complete parks of artillery, forming a hollow square, were so arranged, at Woolwich, as to be able to set off, at a moment's warning, to any part of the country. The horses were harnessed in the centre, and the drivers and engineers slept on the spot. In the rear of the guns (which were, in general, 9 and 12 pounders) were the *chevaux-de-frize* and ammunition waggons.

Such were, in part, the land arrangements which were made; various orders were likewise issued, as to the marching of the troops, in case of necessity; their mode of cantonment, quartering, &c. and the manner of their being provisioned.

At sea, along the whole Channel, from the Nore to Falmouth, a system of night signals was employed, to announce any approach of danger: frigates and gun-boats were stationed at proper places near the British shore. The return of the Baltic fleet, while it added to the amount of our disposable naval force, inspired, if possible, into our seamen and marines still higher sentiments of courage, honour, and glory. Such was the immensity of our navy, that our fleets, squadrons, and cruisers, blockaded the enemy in their principal ports and watched their flotillas of gun-boats, (while they endeavoured, with various success, to skulk close to the shore, from one place to another) and annoyed and quashed their trade in every quarter of the world. A chain of English vessels of war stretched along the whole extent of the French coast on the Channel, generally about two or three miles from land.

So great, at this time, was the immense strength of the navy of England, that she had a fleet in the Indian Ocean; a fleet in the Red Sea; a fleet at the Mouth of the Nile; two fleets in or near the Mediterranean; a small fleet in the Baltic; a fleet in the West Indies; detached cruisers and convoy-ships in every direction; and a Channel fleet: while a flotilla of vessels, of different descriptions, under the command of Lord Nelson (who was invested with the supreme command of maritime affairs from the Land's End to Yarmouth) guarded the British shores, and struck terror into those of France!

About this time two of our ships were captured by the French, who made great boasting on the occasion. One, the *Swiftsure*, commanded by Captain Hollowell, was taken, by the *whole French fleet!* under Gantheaume, in the Mediterranean: the other was captured by the French squadron under Admiral Linois, on the Spanish coast, near Cadiz. This squadron, consisting of two ships, carrying each 80 guns; one carrying 74; and a frigate, besides cutters, on the 4th of July, lay at anchor off Algesiras: Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, inform-

ed of this, went in quest of them, with a superior fleet. Having stood through the Straits, from the Mediterranean, and opened Cabareta Point, he found that the ships lay at a considerable distance from the batteries on shore: encouraged by this circumstance, and by a leading wind, he resolved to attack them.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 5th the English squadron, with springs on their cables, advanced to the French ships, in order to come to the closest action possible. Captain Hood, in the Venerable, led the squadron with his accustomed gallantry, but, from the failing of the wind was obliged to cast anchor. Captain Stirling anchored opposite the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompey to action in the most spirited manner. Captain Darby, of the Spencer, and Captain Ferris, of the Hannibal, from light winds, were prevented, for a considerable time, from coming into action. At length the Hannibal getting a breeze, Captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of getting alongside of one of the enemy's ships; when she, unfortunately, ran aground. Sir James Saumarez, with his own ship, the *Cæsar*, and the *Audacious*, made every possible effort to run between the Hannibal and the French batteries and squadron, to cover, and to enable her to extricate herself from the difficulty into which she had fallen: but the wind did not favour this bold manœuvre; and being at that critical time only three cables length from one of the enemy's batteries, he was under the necessity of making sail, leaving the Hannibal, which, of course, struck her flag.

The Admiral, in his dispatches, gave the best account he could of this unfortunate business. The French and Spaniards exulted highly over our defeat; it was announced, by an official note, to all the theatres of Paris, that six English ships of the line had been either taken, or beaten back into the harbour of Gibraltar, by three French ships! The same news was circulated by the telegraphs

throughout the whole of the French empire: not a word of the batteries on shore; and which, in fact, infinitely counterbalanced the inferiority of the French fleet. The 5th of July was called the Naval Marengo: the destruction of the modern Carthage was predicted in an epigram, greatly admired at Paris, because it had lost its Hannibal. From the result of the engagement at Algairas the French nation; at large, inferred, without the smallest doubt, that their navy would soon be enabled, with proper attention, to combat the empire of the seas: such and so extensive were the hopes and ambition excited by this victory in miniature!

Shortly after this, intelligence was received of a second action fought by the squadron under the command of Sir James Saumarez, in which he obtained the victory. The three French line of battle ships, disabled in the action of the 5th of July, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of Don Juan de Moreno (the same Moreno who commanded the Spanish gun-boats in 1782, in the attack on Gibraltar:) there was also a French 74, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats, and other vessels. They got under sail on the morning of the 12th, together with the English ship the Hannibal, which they had succeeded in moving off the shoal on which she had struck. Sir James Saumarez almost despaired of getting a sufficient force in readiness to oppose such numbers; but, through the greatest exertions of the officers and men, the *Cerberus*, which was the Admiral's ship, was in readiness to warp out of the mole of Gibraltar also on the morning of the 12th; and, immediately after, the whole squadron got under weigh, except the Pompey, which ship had not time to get in her masts. The English Admiral determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of so powerful a force, as that of the enemy, to Cadiz. Late in the evening he observed the Combined Squadron to have

cleared Cabareta Point, and at eight he bore up to stand after them. His Majesty's ship the *Superb* opened her fire close to the enemy's ships; and, on the *Cæsar's* coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker, that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to the leeward of her, both were soon in a blaze. As there was no possibility of offering the least assistance to the enemy, in so distressing a situation, the *Cæsar* passed on close with the ship engaged by the *Superb*; but, before the *Cæsar* could come up, that ship, the *St. Antonio*, of 74 guns, and 730 men, was completely silenced, and hauled down her colours. The *Venerable* and *Spencer* having, at this instant, come up, the English Admiral bore after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail and standing out of the Straits, but lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till daylight; and, in the morning, the only ships in company were the *Venerable* and *Thames*, ahead of the *Cæsar*, and one of the French ships, at some distance from them, standing towards the shoals of Conil, besides the *Spencer*, astern, coming up. All our ships immediately made sail with a fresh breeze; but, as they approached, the wind suddenly failed, and the *Venerable* alone was able to bring the French ship to action, which Captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced her; when his mainmast, which had been before wounded, was, unfortunately, shot away: and thus the enemy's ship was enabled to get off, without any possibility of following her.

The following is the account given by Captain Keates, of the *Superb*, who, in consequence of the Admiral's directions to make sail up to and engage the sternmost of the enemy's ships, found himself abreast of a Spanish three-decked ship, on which he opened his fire at not more than three cables length; which produced good effect, not only in that ship, but in other two, which lay

nearly in a line abreast of her; all which ships soon began firing on each other, and, at times, on the *Superb*: the three decker was the *Royal Charles*, carrying 112 guns. In about a quarter of an hour he perceived the ship he was engaging, and which had lost her foretop-mast, to be on fire: on this, he instantly ceased to molest her, and proceeded on to the ship next at hand, the *St. Antonio* abovementioned, under French colours, and manned nearly in equal proportions with French and Spanish seamen, and which, after some action, the chief being wounded, struck her colours. From the very few survivors of the ships that caught fire and blew up, and who, in an open boat, reached the *Superb* at the time she was taking possession of the *St. Antonio*, Captain Keates learned, that, in the confusion of the action, the *St. Hermenegildo*, carrying also 112 guns, mistaking, in a dark night, the *Royal Charles* for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate. The other Spanish ships were the *St. Ferdinando*, of 94 guns; the *Argonaut*, of 80; and the *Wanton*, a lugger, of 12 guns.

The escape of the French ship the *Formidable* from the *Venerable*, was, as usual, magnified by the French into a great and wonderful naval victory, and indicative of the reviving glory of the French marine!

While these operations were carrying on by the hostile powers, some changes were taking place in England. Mr. Pitt resigned his place, and assigned as a reason, that his inability to propose his Catholic Regulations, as a minister, was the sole cause of his resignation. Mr. Addington was chosen chancellor of the exchequer; Sir John Mitford was chosen speaker, in the place of Mr. Addington, on the 11th of February. Some interesting and animated debates took place respecting this change; the probable reason of which will appear more clearly as we proceed in our narration.

In the course of this first session of the Imperial Parliament, the merits of a gallant officer, and a man of most

nice honour, were recommended to the House, by his Majesty, in the following

MESSAGE:

" His Majesty being desirous of conferring some signal mark of his royal approbation upon Sir Sidney Smith, in consideration of his eminent services, and the valour and abilities he has displayed, in various important operations against the enemy on the coast of Egypt; and, particularly, for his gallant defence of Acre, recommends to the House of Commons to make provision for securing the sum of one thousand pounds *per annum*, for the term of his natural life."

This was some remuneration for arduous and important services. But why, it may be asked, does Sir Sidney Smith, even yet, remain undistinguished by any honorary title, for his meritorious exertions in the defence of his country?

On the 2nd of July the Parliament was prorogued by the following Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" We have it in command from his Majesty, to acquaint you, that, on account of the advanced period of the season, and the state of public business, he is induced to relieve you from a longer attendance in Parliament.

" His Majesty highly commends the wisdom, temper, and diligence, which have marked all your proceedings; and, particularly, acknowledges the assiduity and zeal with which you have pursued the investigation of the important subjects brought under your consideration, in consequence of the severe pressure occasioned by the high price of corn. The beneficial effects of the measures you have suggested for the alleviation of this calamity have afforded his Majesty great consolation; and he has the utmost satisfaction in indulging the hope, that, under the favour of Providence, the blessings of plenty will be restored by the produce of the ensuing harvest.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" His Majesty has directed us to return you his particular thanks for the liberal provision which you have made for the various branches of the public service. While he regrets the necessity of supplying so large, it is a relief to his Majesty to observe, that the resources of the

continued prosperity of the country have enabled you to distribute the public burdens in such a manner as to press with as little severity as possible on his faithful subjects.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The brilliant and repeated successes of his Majesty’s arms, by sea and land, important as they are in their immediate consequences, are not less satisfactory to his Majesty’s mind, as affording fresh and decisive proofs of that vigorous exertion, undaunted valour, and steady perseverance, which distinguish the national character; and on which the chief reliance must be placed, for respect abroad and for confidence and security at home. Events so honourable to the British name derive, at the present moment, peculiar value, in his Majesty’s estimation, from their tendency to facilitate the attainment of the great object of his unceasing solicitude, the restoration of peace, on fair and adequate terms. They furnish, at the same time, an additional pledge, that, if the sentiments of moderation and justice, which will ever govern his Majesty’s conduct, should be rendered unavailing, in this instance, by unreasonable pretensions on the part of his enemies, the spirit and firmness of his people will continue to be manifested, by such efforts and sacrifices as may be necessary for asserting the honour of his Majesty’s crown, and for maintaining the permanent interests of the Empire.”

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read; after which the Lord Chancellor said,

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ By virtue of his Majesty’s Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, in obedience to his commands, we prorogue this Parliament to Thursday, the 6th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is, accordingly, prorogued to Thursday, the 6th of August next.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

Further Views of Buonaparté....Resolves to attack Portugal....Conduct of England....Spain proposes to mediate....England rejects it....Spain drawn into the Contest, and declares War against Portugal....Active Measures of the Portuguese Government....Hostilities commenced....Rapid Progress of the Spanish Arms....Peace between Spain and Portugal....Buonaparté refuses to accede to it Operations between the French and Portuguese....Peace concluded....Invasion of England, in flat-bottomed Boats.... Lord Nelson's Attack on Boulogne....Its partial Success.... Returns to Margate Roads....Sails again for Boulogne.

THUS baffled at all points; the Northern Negotiation broken, and the Combined Fleets defeated; Buonaparté now began to bestir himself in a manner less likely to be fruitless: he resolved to forsake, for awhile, the faithless element of the seas, on which he was forced to acknowledge we rode triumphant, and to attack us by a more circuitous route; a route also where he promised himself more success. Portugal, our old and faithful Ally, now attracted the furor of his ambition; and, whether the advantages of subjugating that state would be great or little, it would serve, at least, as a rallying point, and a tocsin to sound the alarm of war.

Portugal was considered and spoken of by the French as a mere colony in the hands of the English. The Portuguese were disposed to continue in habits of close intercourse and friendship with us, and they were proud of our protection: if the English Government would have supplied them with an army as well as with a navy, the general voice of the court and nation would have cheerfully embarked the fortune and fate of Portugal with that of Britain. Our ministers appeared for some time to have

embraced the resolution of defending Portugal; and so late as October 1801, Spain offered itself as a mediator between France and Portugal: but to this the British cabinet would not consent; they rather chose to attempt to rouse the Portuguese to war, with the promise of military succours, provided that a person recommended by Great Britain should be employed to fill the office of Commander-in-chief of the forces in Portugal, instead of the actual Commander-in-chief, who, from age, was not capable of acting with a sufficient degree of judgment for his country. The Court of Lisbon did not take this advice; they agreed, however, that, if this country would furnish an army of 25,000 men, the British ministry might then appoint a commander: to this our ministry would not accede; and the force destined for Portugal was, therefore, carried to Egypt.

Spain was not allowed to remain neuter: it seemed to be then, as it is now, the policy of Buonaparté to suffer no neutral states, but to emblaze the whole world in war. Spain declared war against Portugal on the 3rd of March, 1801; it was not, however, till the 26th of April that a proclamation of war, or, rather, of defence, was issued by the Portuguese Government. The Proclamation was spirited and manly. "The nation," said they, "which could resist the Romans, conquer Asia, make great discoveries by sea, shake off a foreign sceptre, and recover and maintain her independence; should not that nation, at present, recal to mind the honourable annals of her history? People of Portugal! we still preserve the courage and sentiments transmitted by our ancestors. Justice is on our side; and the true God, favourable to our cause, will punish, by our arms, the injustice of our adversaries."

Vigorous measures were now adopted by the Portuguese Government: yet it was easy to see, that neither she nor Spain entered willingly into the war: it was necessary, however, to be prepared for the worst, and,

therefore, preparations were made for actual hostilities. New levies were made in all places, and among all ranks, the ecclesiastics and men above sixty alone excepted: every other, "capable of shewing a beard," had arms put into their hands. A force of regulars and irregulars was raised and set in motion, but the numbers have not been able to be ascertained with any exactness. The Prince of Brazil attended the army in person. To assist in carrying on the war government borrowed the plate of the churches, which was deposited, as a pledge, in aid of the public faith for sums advanced, in the hands of individuals; and an augmentation was made, of one third part, to the daily pay of the soldiers. Every thing, in short, wore the appearance of a necessary defence against a serious and alarming invasion.

The attack on Portugal was to be made by the French and Spaniards in two different directions: the former were to march towards Oporto and Lisbon, while the latter were to penetrate into Alentejo, the largest, the most fertile, and the best cultivated province of Portugal, extending in breadth eighty miles and in length two hundred.

The Spanish army, from thirty to forty thousand, under the command of the Prince of Peace, from different points, entered Alentejo on the 20th of May. All was rapid progress on one part and precipitate retreat on the other. By the 6th of June the Spaniards had reduced Elvas, Campo-major, Arrouches, Fior-de-Posa Estrencoz, and, in a word, all the strong places and all the magazines of Alentejo. On this day preliminaries of peace were signed between Portugal and Spain, at Badajos; the principal conditions of which were, that the town, fortress, and province of Olivenza, were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English. This pacification was ratified on June 16th, but not proclaimed by Portugal till the 20th of July. It was deemed prudent not to publish the Treaty of Badajos

till the Portuguese possessions in South America should be saved from invasion, on the part of England, by a reinforcement of French troops. In the Portuguese proclamation not a word of France was mentioned.

The situation of Portugal, shut up between the prevailing power and influence of the French by land, and that of the English by sea, was extremely hard and perilous. Mr. Frere, the English envoy at Lisbon, sent a strong note to the Portuguese minister, remonstrating against the conclusion of peace till his court should be consulted.

At this haughty conduct the Portuguese cabinet was greatly hurt; as Portugal had, in fact, to complain of the conduct of Great Britain. Immediately after Mr. Frere had presented this note he wrote another to Mr. Arbuthnot, the English consul, desiring him to intimate to the British merchants, to hold themselves in readiness to depart at a moment's notice: but the English were invited to remain, with assurance of protection, by the Prince Regent of Portugal.

By a convention entered into between France and Spain, at Madrid, peace was not to be concluded between these parties on the one hand, and Portugal on the other, unless, among other conditions, certain places in Portugal should be given up, to be occupied by French troops until the establishment of a general peace in Europe. When, therefore, Buonaparté was invited to accede to the preliminaries of the peace of Badajos, he refused his concurrence. He represented that it was contrary to the convention of Madrid, and to the general policy and interest of the Allies; and that the immediate consequence of this treaty to his Catholic Majesty, if he should ratify it separately, would be the loss of Trinidad; which must be ceded, as a condition of peace with the British nation, if the occupation, by French troops, of some quarter, or some posts in Portugal, should not enable the French Government to offer to the cabinet of London an option;

which it might prefer even to the possession of the Spanish island. But the Court of Lisbon having ratified the Treaty of Badajos separately, the French Government proceeded in its determination of invading Portugal. A French army, thirty thousand strong, under General Leclerc, provided with a numerous train of artillery, having traversed the Pyrennees, entered Portugal, from Salamanca, on the 28th of June, invested the town and fortress of Almeida, and from that position menaced both Oporto and Lisbon.

In order to counteract the conquests of France, a squadron, with troops, was sent out by the British Government, for taking into our protection and possession the island of Madeira. It arrived on the 23d of July at the place of its destination: early on the 24th a negociation was begun, and, before it was dark, half the force was landed and encamped: on the 25th the remainder was landed; and Colonel Clinton, who commanded the expedition, having made proper representations, and satisfied the Governor of the friendly intentions of the English towards the Portuguese, was put in possession of the two forts which command the bay of Funchal, the capital of the island.

Edicts were again issued by the Portuguese Government for military conscriptions: large bounties were offered to seamen, for manning six ships of the line, to join the English fleet at Cadiz. The subsidy from England, of three hundred thousand pounds, gave new vigor to the exertions of Portugal: succours in men, likewise, were solicited from England, and fondly, though vainly, expected. The men were at work in the arsenals of Lisbon and Oporto day and night: the greatest activity prevailed in every branch of the war department. Portugal was seriously prepared to defend herself.

The Portuguese army, however, did not amount to more than 25,000 men, notwithstanding all the requisitions and bounties! among these were three regiments of

loyal French Emigrants, and some corps of English cavalry: its head quarters were fixed in the strong post of Abrantes, on the Tagus, in Estramadura. The Commander-in-chief was the Duke of Alfoens.

The Duke, in the beginning of July, quitted Abrantes, and left a strong corps there, under the command of General Forbes: he proceeded, with the main army, to occupy such positions as might enable him to check the farther irruptions of the French. But, in the meantime, while the weak, and but ill provided, Portuguese army were thus employed, a negotiation was set on foot for peace, which was finally concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September, by the following

TREATY

Of Peace between the FRENCH REPUBLIC and the KINGDOM of PORTUGAL

THE First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the Kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, equally animated with the desire of establishing those relations of commerce and amity which subsisted between both states previous to the war, have determined to conclude a treaty of peace, through the mediation of his Catholic Majesty, and have appointed for this purpose the following Plenipotentiaries; viz. The First Consul has nominated, in the name of the French People, Citizen Lucien Buonaparté: and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the Kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, his Excellency Cypriano Bibiero Freire, Commander of the Order of Christ, one of the Council of his Royal Highness, and his Minister Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty; which Plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their respective powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

I. There shall be, from henceforth, peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French Republic and the Kingdom of Portugal: all hostilities, both by land and sea, shall cease immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty; that is to say, within fifteen days in Europe, and the seas which bound it and the coast of Africa, on this side of the equator; within forty days after the aforesaid ratifications in the territories and seas of America and Africa, on the other side of the equator; and three months after, in all the territories and seas to the Westward of Cape Horn and to the East of the Cape of Good Hope. All the prizes made

after these respective periods, in the latitudes mentioned, shall be respectively restored: the prisoners on each side shall be restored, and the same political relations re-established between the two powers as existed before the war.

II. All the ports and roads of Portugal in Europe shall be immediately shut, and continue so until the conclusion of peace between France and England, against all English vessels, both of war and trade; and the said ports and roads shall be open to all the vessels of war and trade belonging to the French Republic and her Allies. As to the ports and roads of Portugal in other parts of the world, the present Article shall be obligatory within the periods above fixed for the cessation of hostilities.

III. Portugal engages not to furnish, during the course of the present war, to the enemies of the French Republic and her Allies, any succours, in troops, vessels, arms, ammunition, provision, or money of any kind, or in any manner whatever. All anterior acts, engagements, or conventions, contrary to the present Article shall be revoked, and regarded as null and void.

IV. The boundaries of French and Portuguese Guyana, shall be determined, in future, by the river Carapanatuba, which flows into the river Amazon, about a third of a degree of North latitude above Fort Macaba. These limits shall follow the course of the river to its source, whence they shall take a direction to the grand chain of mountains which divide the course of the river; they shall follow the windings of that chain to the point nearest to Rio Branco, between the second and third degree North of the equator.

The Indians of the two Guyanas, who, in the course of the war, may have been carried off from their habitations, shall be respectively restored.

The citizens or subjects of the two powers, who may be comprised within the new determination of the limits, may reciprocally retire to the possession of their respective states. They shall, likewise, have power to dispose of their property, moveable and immovable, for a period of two years, to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications of the present Treaty.

V. A treaty of commerce shall be negotiated between the two powers, to establish, in a definitive manner, the commercial relations between France and Portugal: in the meantime it is agreed upon,

1. That the communications shall be re-established immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the agents and factors of commerce shall, on each side, be restored to the possession of the rights, immunities, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war.

2. That the citizens and subjects of the two powers shall equally and reciprocally enjoy in the states of both all the rights which those of the most favoured nations enjoy.

3. That the commodities and merchandises produced from the soil or manufactures of each of the two powers, shall be admitted reciprocally, without restriction, and without being liable to any duty which would not equally affect the commodities and merchandise of a similar nature imported by other nations.

4. That the French cloths may be immediately imported into Portugal, on the footing of the most favoured merchandise.

5. That in other points all the stipulations inserted in the preceding Articles, and not contrary to the present Treaty, shall be provisionally executed until the conclusion of a treaty of definitive commerce.

6. The ratifications of the present Treaty shall be exchanged at Madrid within the term of twenty days, at farthest.

Exchanged by *duplicata*, the 7th Vendemaire, in the 10th year of the French Republic (29th September, 1801.)

(Signed)

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE.

CYPRIANO BIBIERO FREIRE.

By this Treaty neither Olivenza nor any other portion of the Portuguese territory was given to Spain: but the interests of France were consulted in commercial relations, and in the extension as well as compactness of French Guiana.

The active mind of Buonaparté, while carrying on this incidental war, was not neglectful of the grand focus of his operations. England continued to be the centre of his action, and the menaces of invasion were continued under a new aspect, that of flat-bottomed boats. This idea was first suggested in 1744, by the famous Lally; but it was quickly abandoned by the French ministry, as impracticable; and, if it was then deemed so, with much more reason ought it to be now.

It was resolved, however, not to wait quietly an attack, but to shew our enemies that we were able not only to defend our own shores, but to carry war even to theirs. At the very moment, therefore, when the project of invading this country appeared to be ripe for execution, it was determined, that Lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun-boats, and other armed vessels, backed by some ships

of the line, should carry the terrors of war home to the doors of France. The name of Nelson was alone sufficient; yet there were many who disapproved of his appointment, under pretence, that we ought to have shewn the enemy that we had other commanders as able; but, probably, from the secret influence of envy, that pined to see the illustrious Conqueror of Aboukir and Copenhagen in the road to gather additional laurels. It may be true, and no doubt it is, that we have in the British navy many very brave and able commanders; but was there one who had signalised himself in a manner equal to Nelson? and is it not true policy to entrust a bold enterprise to one who has given proofs of his courage and skill, rather than to the problematical chance of equal service being done by one who *may be* adequate to the task? Much invective indeed was thrown upon Lord Nelson, at the time, for his rash effusion of blood; but it is now sufficiently ascertained, that none could have done better, and few so well.

While the armament under this gallant Hero was preparing, a stop was put to all intercourse between England and the opposite coasts. Orders were sent by government, not to suffer any persons whatever to land from France, Flanders, or Holland. The French, therefore, instead of making attacks on England, were wholly employed in preparations for defence against the dreaded attacks of the English armament. At Boulogne, Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, Cherbourg, and other places, where the English might direct their attacks, land forces were collected from the neighbouring quarters, batteries were constructed, and furnaces erected for heating red-hot shot; all which had fires in them, ready for service.

On the 30th of July, Lord Nelson hoisted his flag on board the *Leyden* of 68 guns, at Deal, and took the command of the armament, destined for an unknown expedition. The force under his command comprehended, besides the *Leyden*, the *De Ruyter*, of 64 guns, the *Isis*

of 50 guns, the Hind and Brilliant frigates, together with a great number of bombs and gun-boats, revenue-cutters, and armed pinnaces, in all about 40 sail. His Lordship, afterwards, shifted his flag to the Médusa frigate.

On the 1st of August the squadron stood over to the French coast. Boulogne-sur-mer was the place on which it was resolved to make the attack. This was the principal place of rendezvous on the opposite coast, where the enemy had been assembling their numerous small craft, as was given out, for the invasion of this country. In this harbour there were four schooners, six luggers, six gun-brigs, and sixteen gun-boats. On either side of the town there was formed an extensive encampment. Lord Nelson having arrived off Boulogne, employed himself diligently in reconnoitring the fortifications of the place, and concerting the best plan for an attack. In the evening of August 3rd he stood close into Boulogne, with some of the bomb vessels, and threw several bombs, to try how they would reach the enemy. Finding that they reached the shore, he made a signal of recall, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. Orders were given to begin the attack at break of day next morning, 4th of August. At 10 o'clock he himself stationed the bombs, five in number, in an oblique line, stretching from the West end of the line of the enemy. They came to anchor, and began to throw bombs about five o'clock: the other ships of war were stationed, under weigh, in another line, behind the bombs, ready to render assistance. His Lordship's own flag was placed in front of the harbour, having our two lines, one of bombs, another of small ships of war, stretching from his right; behind these was the Leyden man of war. Lord Nelson's first intention was to attack the enemy's vessels with bombs only, as these reach much farther than shot, and would prove effectual, while the enemy's shot could not reach our vessels. At six o'clock, however, it being then high water, Lord Nelson, in order

to induce them to disclose their strongest points, (for it was difficult to discover their batteries, the cliffs being of a brown clay) sent his ships of war very close to the shore, in face of the batteries, where they fired, first one broadside, and, tacking round, fired the other; and then, sailing away, they loaded again for another such attack. This produced a heavy firing on both sides; but, when the water fell, it was, of course, given over. The French batteries on each side of the harbour, could only fire straight out, or nearly so, while our bomb-vessels were stationed so much to their left that the batteries could not bear upon them. The French soon discovered the inutility of their batteries; and they, therefore, employed a number of men to throw up works and batteries on the hill, in the Eastern turn of the bay, which flanks the whole line of the coast. But still they could not reach our bomb-vessels, which were at the extremity of the line of vessels to the Westward: only a few shells, therefore, were thrown from them. The object which the British Admiral had in view in the disposition of his vessels, was, to have all the French ships to retreat towards the mouth of the harbour, that, being in a cluster, their destruction might be effected at night.

The wind being favourable for the bomb-vessels to act, he made the signal for them to weigh and to throw shells at the enemy's vessels. Previous orders had been given to annoy as little as possible the town. Six of the French vessels were so much damaged that they were towed from the scene of action; five of them were got into the mole; four sunk; and one bulged. It was Lord Nelson's intention, in the dark, to have sent three bombs close upon the enemy, each bomb towed by ten boats, which were also to tow the boats away in case of accident: but the wind shifting, the attack became impracticable.

This partial attack being made, which, as Lord Nelson expressed himself in his dispatches, would, at least, serve to convince the enemy that they could not come

out of their harbours with impunity;" he sailed with part of his fleet, on the 6th of August, to Margate Roads. A number of his gun-boats returned to Deal, and a sufficient force remained off Boulogne. On the 8th he again sailed, directing his course to the Eastward, as if it were meant to attack Flushing, or some other port on the Dutch coast; but the real point was no other than Boulogne.

Stimulated by his recent success, he was inflamed by an ardent wish of bringing off the enemy's flotilla, which was moored in the front of Boulogne, to the number of five-and-twenty armed vessels.

CHAPTER XXX.

Account of the second Attack on Boulogne....The Mode of Attack, and Division of the Fleet....The Manner in which the French were prepared for us, and the dreadful Havoc made in our Boats....Loss on both Sides....Alledged sincerity of the French Commodore....Causes of Failure assigned by Lord Nelson....The real ones....Preparations for Peace amidst Hostilities....Preliminaries signed....Enthusiastic joy on the Occasion.

THIS desperate, and almost mad attempt, was made on the night between the 15th and 16th of August. The force collected at the Downs for this second attack amounted to about 70 vessels, of different descriptions, on board of which were some thousands of marines. On the evening of the 15th, about dusk, our vessels were ordered to form in four divisions, to storm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers, defended by long poles, headed by spikes of iron projecting from their sides, and with a very strong netting braced up to their lower yards, moored head and stern across the harbour with iron chains, in the strongest manner, containing each about 200 soldiers, and under the protection of land batteries, as well as musquetry from the shore! Since the first bombardment the enemy had erected batteries on every favourable point, and the army, collected on the heights, occupied a line of nearly three miles in length. But the circumstance of the vessels being made fast to one another, and to the ground, by means of strong iron chains, was then unknown to the English. Such, however, was the case; and to that circumstance alone the French owed the preservation of their flotilla.

Our men were provided with boarding-pikes, tomahawks, and cutlasses only. Fire arms were forbidden lest

they should have been induced to fire, and thus alarm the enemy before they could be well up with their boats.

The plan of the attack was as follows :

The fleet was divided into four divisions of boats for boarding, each under the command of a captain; and a fifth division of howitzer boats. The first four divisions consisted of flat-bottomed boats, armed only with marines, and the boats belonging to the different ships and cutters in the squadron. Each of these divisions consisted of three flat-bottomed boats, and about ten six-oared boats. The whole flotilla was formed into the different divisions by the senior master and commander, Captain Somerville. Each division had its appropriate number of enemy's vessels to attack: the first beginning to the Eastward, and so on, in the order, Westward. The boats, in their respective divisions, put off from the *Medusa* at half past eleven at night of the 15th. The second division, under Captain Parker, closed with the enemy first at half past twelve on Sunday morning. Captain Parker ordered Captain Williams, with the subdivision under his orders, to push on to attack the vessels to the Northward of him, while he himself, with the others, ran alongside a large brig, off the mole-head, wearing the Commodore's pendant. The boats were no sooner alongside this ship than they attempted to board: but the strong netting, already noticed, baffled all their endeavours, and an instantaneous discharge of guns, from about 200 soldiers on her gun-wale, laid Captain Parker, with two-thirds of the crew, on their backs in the boat, all either killed or desperately wounded. A part of the officers and crew of the *Medusa* were in the boat with Captain Parker, and another part of them in the barge, under Lieutenant Longford, who nobly seconded the efforts of the Captain until all her crew were disabled. The barge, being on the outside, was enabled to get off with the tide, but the boat, in which Captain Parker was, hung alongside: and, as there was not an officer or man

left to govern her, she must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had she not been taken in tow, and carried off by the honourable Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the *Medusa's* cutter.

Mr. Williams led his sub-division to the enemy with great gallantry: he took one lugger, and had began to attack a brig; but the whole of his boat's crew were either killed or wounded.

The next division that came up with the enemy was that under the command of Captain Colgrave. The captain wishing to reduce the largest vessel first, lost no time in making the attack, but he received so many shots through the boat's bottom that he soon found her in a sinking state; and, as it was not possible to stop so many shot-holes, he was obliged, with the men, to take to one of the boats of the ship, (*York*) which soon came up with the rest of his division. Finding, from the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire of grape and small arms from the shore, that there was not any prospect of success, he thought it for the good of his Majesty's service to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning.

Captain Coun, with the howitzers, in support of Captain Parker's division, advanced towards the pier until he was aground in the headmost boat. He then opened his fire, and threw about eight shells into the harbour. From the strength of the ebb he was not able to keep his station off the pier-head. He continued, however, his fire on the French camp till the enemy's fire had slackened, and almost totally failed, and Captain Parker's division had passed without him.

Only one French lugger was brought off, with a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers, being all that remained out of about double that number, with which she had been manned.

The loss of the English in this second attack on Bou-

logne, in officers, seamen, and marines, amounted to about 200 in killed and wounded. Among the wounded was Captain Parker, who lost a leg and thigh. The loss of the French is not known, but it must have been considerable. The French admiral, indeed, Latouche Treville, in his dispatches, stated the loss at no more than 10 men killed and 30 wounded. But this was a violent diminution, for, beside the havoc made by our seamen and marines, the French themselves poured volleys of musquetry, regardless of their own men, into their own brigs and boats, after they were boarded, and had fallen, or were likely to fall, into the hands of the English.

This was a desperate and mad attempt, and a most prodigal exposure of human life. Even the French admiral does justice to the daring intrepidity of our men, and acknowledges that they were compelled to retire merely in consequence of the impracticability of getting the ships off, on account of their being chained. He describes, too, the shocking spectacle that was presented on board their vessels after the action. The decks strewed with dead and dying; and fingers, hands, and arms, everywhere discovered; after the dead bodies were thrown into the sea!

The gallant Nelson ascribed the failure of success "to the darkness of the night; the rapidity of the tide and half tide; the separation of the divisions; and the circumstance of their not arriving all at the same happy moment with Captain Parker." But it is sufficiently accounted for by forests of cutlasses and bayonets: volleys of musquetry and grape shot, poured on our men, both from gun-boats, and from the shore, while they were employed in clearing away the strong boarding netting, the projecting spikes, and the chains, which remained after our brave seamen had cut the cables of the enemy's vessels; and the barricades, covering numerous troops abaft the mainmast.

It has been asserted, on the most indisputable autho-

rity, that the French Commodore addressed the first boat's crew that approached his ship, and in which was Captain Parker, in the following words, which were spoken in pretty good English: "Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen! to keep your distance: you can do nothing here; and it is only useless shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt.

On Sunday afternoon Lord Nelson, with part of his fleet, returned to the Downs: the remainder continued for some time to cruise off the French coast.

It is remarkable, that the French, on this occasion, forewent their usual mode of exaggeration: we have seen, that the capture of a single English frigate; nay, that the mere escape of a French one, was hailed by the country with enthusiastic raptures, and blazoned forth with all the pomp of extravagant hyperbole. In their account of our unsuccessful business at Boulogne they confined themselves not only to modest truth, but told that truth in a modest way! Metaphysicians say, there can be no effect without a cause; and we shall, shortly, find the cause of this effect: it was intended to smooth the way to a general peace.

Buonaparté was, by this time, convinced, if he ever had a doubt about it, that an invasion of England was impracticable, in his present circumstances: France, too, was convinced, by our daring bravery off Boulogne, that, so far from hoping to invade our shores, it would need all their vigilance to preserve their own from insult, and to protect the scanty shipping they had got.

Every thing concurred to render a peace acceptable. A long series of years spent in the most desolating warfare that history records; the continent metamorphosed; almost all its different states under the power of Buonaparté, and England and France, singly, carrying on their hostile preparations, without any definite object in view, all seemed to cry aloud for peace. Yet this desirable end was pursued under all the attributes of war: it should

seem as if ministers were anxious to "surprise and astonish," and to carry the consent of the nation by a *coup-de-main*. Every thing, to appearance, wore the aspect of the most inveterate hostility: preparations continued to be made, on both sides of the Channel, for making and repelling invasion; and British fleets hung threatening over the alarmed coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland. M. Otto still remained in London, and flags of truce were daily passing, amidst vessels of war, between Calais and Dover. The negotiation was carried on with admirable secrecy on both sides; though there would of course, be some general anticipation of such an event being likely to happen. At length, on Saturday, the 2nd of October, there was given, in a London Gazette extraordinary, the following intelligence: "Preliminaries of peace between his Majesty and the French Republic were signed last night, at Lord Hawkesbury's office in Downing Street, by the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, on the part of his Majesty; and by M. Otto, on the part of the French Government." These were as follow:

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES

Of Peace between his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and the FRENCH REPUBLIC, signed at London (in English and French) the 1st of October, 1801, 9th Vendemaire, 10th Year of the FRENCH REPUBLIC.

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, being animated with an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between the two countries, have named for this purpose; namely: his Britannic Majesty, the Right Honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Britannic Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, Citizen Louis William Otto, Commissary for the exchange of French prisoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in due form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

ART. I. As soon as the Preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world; and, in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their Allies respectively, the necessary instructions shall be sent, with the utmost dispatch, to the commanders of the sea and land forces of the respective states; and each of the Contracting Parties engages to grant passports, and every facility requisite to accelerate the arrival and ensure the execution of these orders. It is farther agreed, that all conquests which may have been made by either of the Contracting Parties from the other, or from their respective Allies, subsequently to the ratification of the present Preliminaries, shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions to be made after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty.

II. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to the French Republic and her Allies; namely, to his Catholic Majesty and to the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty.

III. The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the Two Contracting Parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

IV. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either the two Contracting Parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the Definitive Treaty.

V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

VI. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful Majesty shall, likewise, be preserved entire.

VII. The French Forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory: the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and, generally, all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.

VIII. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French Republic.

IX. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present Preliminary Articles, shall take place, in Europe, within

one month; and the continent and seas of America and of Africa, within three months; and, on the continent and seas of Asia, within six months after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty.

X. The prisoners made respectively shall be, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the Definitive Treaty, restored, and without ransom, on paying reciprocally the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen respecting the payment for the maintenance of the prisoners of war, the Contracting Powers reserve this question to be settled by the Definitive Treaty, according to the law of nations, and in conformity to established usage.

XI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute, which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea, after the signature of the Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be, one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of any description, belonging to either of the Contracting Powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the Definitive Treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country against individuals of the other, for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to be received at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before the competent tribunals, and, in all cases, prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made. It is agreed, moreover, that this Article, immediately after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty, shall apply to the Allies of the Contracting Parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

XIII. With respect to the fisheries on the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence; and the two parties have agreed to restore them to the same footing on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in the definitive Treaty, such ar-

rangements as shall appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

XIV. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present Treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present Treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation, shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated in the present Treaty, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the Definitive Treaty of peace, for the purpose of disposing of their properties, acquired and possessed either before or during the present war; during which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege shall be granted in the countries restored, to all those who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever, during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the other inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in their persons or properties under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two powers, not on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the Definitive Treaty.

XV. The present Preliminary Articles shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in London, in the space of fifteen days for all delay; and immediately after their ratifications, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a Definitive Treaty of peace, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of the First Consul of the French Republic, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present Preliminary Articles, and have caused our seals to be put thereto.

Done at London, the 1st day of October, 1801, the 9th Vendemaire, year 10th of the French Republic.

(L. S.)

HAWKESBURY.

(L. S.)

OTTO.

These Preliminaries were ratified by the French government at Paris, on the 5th of October; and the rati-

fication was exchanged between Lord Hawkesbury, and M. Otto, on the afternoon of the 12th of October: it had been brought to London, on the morning of that day, by M. Lauriston, a colonel of artillery in the French army, an aid-de-camp, and a great favourite of Buonaparté's. There was a degree of accidental propriety in transmitting the ratification by the hands of Colonel Lauriston; as his family, though now naturalized in France, was of British extraction, and the recollection of this was yet recent. He was a great grandson of the famous Mississippi Law, a gentleman of an ancient family, namely, that of Lauriston, in Scotland.

Never, surely, was there such a general and enthusiastic joy excited throughout a whole nation as was manifested in England on this occasion. Illuminations, firing of cannon, feasting, dramatic entertainments, poetical effusions, and other expressions of satisfaction and gladness, carried, in many instances, almost to the height of frenzy, expressed the joy of France. In this country it was the same. Immediately on the arrival of Colonel Lauriston, he went to M. Otto's house in Hereford Street. His arrival having been hourly expected, the news of it soon spread through the town, and attracted an immense number of the populace. After a stay of about an hour, the Colonel, M. Otto, and two other French gentlemen, came out and entered their carriage, for the purpose of going to exchange the ratifications with Lord Hawkesbury in Downing Street. The populace, however, aware of their intention, immediately took the horses from their coach and drew it along with loud acclamations. There the ratification was exchanged. On the return of the carriage, the populace, whose numbers were now considerably augmented, insisted on paying the same compliment to their French visitors, by drawing them back as they had come, amidst loud shouting and huzzaing. A party of the guards also attended in the escort, to prevent riot and disorder, and in farther compliment to the welcome

strangers. Colonel Lauriston gave the populace ten guineas to drink: he was a very handsome young man, of a genteel and pleasing address. During his stay in London, which was but a few days, he never appeared in the streets without attracting a crowd, and he was always greeted with loud huzzas.

Such and so great were the rejoicings on this much wished for event, that the joy occasioned by its arrival seemed totally to eclipse and blind every perception of its errors. There was not, perhaps, one reflecting mind in the nation that did not lament an issue to so arduous a contest, which produced so little honourable or advantageous to this country. The feelings of discontent were aggravated by the accounts, which daily arrived of our successes in the East, and of the final expulsion of the French from Egypt. At the moment when our brave countrymen were contending against the greatest hardships; and when, by their blood, they had purchased the object of their contest, a dishonourable peace was concluded in London; and their fellow citizens, the lazy mechanics and discontented tradesmen of this overgrown metropolis, were filling the air with shouts, and dragging, like beasts of burthen, through the streets, two or three Frenchmen! With what feelings must the Egyptian army have read of these proceedings!

Peace was proclaimed in every part of the world; an intercourse was immediately opened between the ports of France and England, and packets regularly interchanged. The recruiting service in both countries was discontinued and bodies of troops were disbanded. Addresses on the peace to our Sovereign, in this country, and to the Chief Consul, in France, poured in from all quarters. The work of pacification was justly ascribed to Buonaparté, who was called *The Hero Pacificator of Europe!* To the address from the Legislative Body he replied, that "the peace was owing to the stability to be expected from the organization of social order and government."

This was the year of treaties: the treaties between France and Austria, between Spain and Portugal, and between France and Portugal, have been already noticed. The moment that intelligence was received at Paris that preliminaries of peace were signed by the British Government, Buonaparté patched up a peace with the Ottoman Porte: by this treaty France was admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured nations.

Peace was also concluded between the French Republic and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, in which that prince renounced, in favour of the French Republic, all claim to the countries and dominions he had heretofore possessed on the left bank of the Rhine; and whereby the French Republic, on the other hand, guaranteed to the Elector the integrity of all his possessions on the right bank of that river.

Though the Emperor Paul had become as zealous a friend to the French Republic as he was an infuriated enemy to Great Britain, his former engagements with the British Government had not been retracted by any formal pacification with France. It was not till the 17th of October that a treaty of peace was signed between France and Russia: by this treaty the French nation acquired very considerable commercial advantages.

There was yet another treaty, more extraordinary, perhaps, than either of the former, and certainly not less important: we allude to the famous *Concordat*. The object of this convention was, to re-establish in France the public worship of the Catholic religion. There was to be a general resignation of the French bishops, both those who acknowledged the Revolution, and those, who sacrificing all worldly advantages to conscience, had quitted their dioceses and France, and voluntarily embraced the hard lot of the Emigrants. The episcopal sees were to be filled up with persons presented to them by the First Consul, and confirmed by the Pope, as had been done before the Revolution. The curates, or parish

ministers, were to be appointed by the bishops and prefects conjointly. The Catholic religion was to be recognised as that of the majority of the French; its ministers were to have salaries, and a sanction was to be given to the sale of ecclesiastical property. The form of the engagement to be taken by the clergy was: "I promise fidelity to the Government of the French Republic as established by the Constitution."

When objections were made to the measure by some of the members of the Council of State, who considered it as too great a deviation from the original principles of the Revolution, and that it might be followed by consequences dangerous to the present government; Buonaparté, with a mixture of seriousness and irony, replied: "Make you no account, then, of a clergy who will pray every day for the safety of the Republic; and of bishops, who will be obliged, by their oath, to reveal all plots against it?"

A great number of squibs and epigrams were circulated in Paris upon this business of the *Concordat*; among which the following was much talked of:

"Politique plus fin que général habile;
Bien plus ambitieux que Louis, dit le Grand:
Pour être Roi d'Egypte, il croit a l'Alcoran;
Pour être Roi de France, il croit a l'Evangile!"

"Still better a politician than a general;
More ambitious than Louis, called the Great:
To be King of Egypt, he believed in the Koran;
To be King of France, he believed in the Gospel!"

Happy Parisians! who can dissipate your cares by a song, and laugh away your evils by an epigram! Yours is the true philosophy, for it is practically good: what others teach, you perform; and, surely, nothing is so much the part of wisdom as to bear the miseries of life without a murmur.

Though the convention between the Pope and Bu-

naparté, was signed so early as the 26th of July, and ratified on the 10th of September, it was not carried into effect until April 1802. It was deemed political wisdom to defer so popular a measure, as the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, for some time. It would thus be looked to as an object of hope, which is a much livelier emotion than gratitude.

The peace with England was regarded by the French Princes, and other Emigrants, as destructive of their final hope and stay. In the recognition of Buonaparté's power, they beheld, not only the ruin of the royal cause, but the subversion of the balance of power, and even of all-subordination, &c. Yet, utterly to extinguish hope is not possible.

" Hope springs eternal in the human breast,
Man never *is*, but always *to be* blest."

Among the loyalists, and these the most enlightened, there were not a few, who considered the concentration of power in France, in a single and vigorous hand, as a presage, auspicious to the restoration of the monarchy. Some believed, that this had been, all along, the ultimate object of a plain, arranged between Buonaparté and the Abbé Sieyes: others, that, though this was not the design, it would follow, as a matter of course. The way to it was prepared by the establishment of absolute power. It was impossible that ideas of restoring Charles II. of Great Britain, could have prevailed during a commonwealth. The restoration of the King was, necessarily, preceded by the reign of a Lord Protector. What Cromwell was to England, Buonaparté would be to France.

Such were the fallacies of hope, than which more gross ones never, surely, entered the human mind. Mere circumstances had made Buonaparté a sort of Cromwell; but then his death must follow before the

parallel would hold. Comwell, while living—"Would as lieve th' eternal devil should hold his state in *Rome* as a king."

Subsequent events have developed Buonaparté's character upon this subject: besides, supposing Buonaparté dead, who was to be the General Monk of France? Hope is sanguine, and often foolish: the expectation, nay, in many, the belief was, that Moreau would prove so:—"Oh! *mores hominum! Oh! quantum est in rebus inane!*"

THE END OF CHAP. XXX.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Evacuation of Hanover by the Prussians....Paswan Oglou....Buonaparté consolidates his own Power....His Character and Views....View of France presented to the Legislative Body by Buonaparté....Some Anecdotes respecting him, and Traits of his private Character.

HAVING noticed the invasion of Hanover by the Prussians, and their declaration, that it was not their intention to keep it any longer than the disturbed and unsettled state of Germany might render this necessary; we shall now just mention, that, having long resisted the solicitations of the Elector, the King of Great Britain, to evacuate that territory, they, at last, did so in November.

In Turkey in Europe, Paswan Oglou not only still held out, but gained several important advantages over the troops of the Grand Seignior. The janizaries of Belgrade revolted; confined, and, afterwards, murdered, the Bashaw; and governed that important city, with its environs, by their own authority.

Buonaparté, as the pacificator of Europe, was enjoying the full height of his splendor, and quaffed the enthusiastic admiration of his *subjects* with regal solemnity: he was, every day, incessantly employed in measures that might tend to consolidate his own power. It was the general plan of his government to unite vigor with lenity; to raise one arm, bared for execution, and the other ready to dispense favours. This was a principle against which no objection could be urged: a due and equitable mixture of these two qualities forms, or ought to form, the constituent parts of every free and just government.

The power of Buonaparté was exercised neither with wanton caprice, nor unemployed for the public advantage.

In his preferments to office he was, generally, guided by a regard to merit and the opinion of the nation. He restored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He set very seriously about improving the civil law of France, founding it wholly on a moral basis, on the principles of human nature, and extending its influence, for the comfort and well being of individuals, to many domestic situations and cases, and other relations, of which the law had not, formerly, taken any cognizance. He formed a plan for the education of youth. He turned his attention to the re-establishment of a regular system of finance, of a navy, of commerce, of agriculture, and manufactures. He liberally patronised, and was assiduous in his attention to the arts, liberal and mechanical; to the formation and restoration of canals, bridges, and highways; and, in a word, to the general strength, resources, and prosperity of the Empire.

He laboured by all means, by his regulations, countenance, and example, to discourage and check whatever was loose in morals, or frivolous, enervating, and unmanly, in matters of amusement or taste. He honoured marriage and a domestic life; constancy and sincerity in attachments and friendships. In what concerns the theatre, (a very capital consideration in France) he set his face severely against all loose and frivolous pieces, and encouraged, on the other hand, such as were of a moral, grave, and dignified cast: he shewed more countenance to tragedy, than to the greater part of comedies.

In his own private deportment he exhibited to the French an example of a simple and laborious life. He was not addicted to any pleasures that were not pure, noble, and sublime. He lived comfortably in his own family; he loved his nearest relatives, and was beloved by them; he was neither forgetful nor inattentive to his friends. Nothing passed in the Council of State that did not undergo a nice examination by him. He heard the opinion of every one with patient attention; but he

viewed every thing, at the same time, with his own eyes, and followed his own judgment.

The following View of the French Republic, signed by the Chief Consul, and countersigned by the Secretary of State, was presented to the Legislative Body on the 23rd of November, 1801. It presents a sufficiently faithful picture of the state of France and Europe at this period, and will, therefore, be read with interest.

VIEW OF THE REPUBLIC;

Presented to the LEGISLATIVE BODY at PARIS, on the 23rd of November, 1801, by the Counsellor of State, THIBAudeau.

"It is with a pleasing satisfaction that the government offers to the nation the picture of the state of France, during the year that has passed over. Every thing at home and abroad has assumed a new appearance, and whatever way we cast our eyes, a long perspective of hope and happiness opens upon us.

"In the West and in the South, remnants of banditti infested the roads and desolated the fields invisible to the armed force which pursued them, or protected against it by the very terror with which they inspired their victims. Even in the bosoms of the tribunals, if they happened to be brought before them, their audacity froze with fear the accusers, the witnesses, the juries, and the judges. These monsters rushed unpunished from the hands of justice to the commission of new crimes.

"Against this pest, so destructive of all society, it was necessary to make use of other arms than the slow and gradual forms with which public justice pursues solitary criminals, who conceal themselves in silence and in darkness.

"Special tribunals were created, whose powers, more rapid and more sure, might overtake and strike them. The great criminals have been seized. The witnesses have ceased to be mute. The judges have obeyed their consciences, and society has been avenged. Those who have escaped from justice, are since flying from one hiding place to another; and the Republic every day vomits from its bosom this last scum of the waves with which it has been so long agitated.

"Still innocence has had nothing to fear. The security of the citizens has not been alarmed by the measures destined for the punishment of their oppressors; and the unfavourable presages with which it was attempted to intimidate liberty, have been realized only against guilt.

" From the month of May in the 9th year, to the 23rd September in the 10th year, seven hundred and twenty-four judgments have been pronounced by the special tribunals; nineteen only have been rejected by the tribunal of appeal, on the ground of incompetence. They cannot, therefore, be reproached with excess of power, nor with any violation of ordinary justice.

" The government, from the first day of its institution proclaimed liberty of conscience. This solemn act calmed minds which had been frightened by imprudent rigours. The cessation of religious dissension has been since announced; and, in fact, measures have been concerted with the Sovereign Pontiff of the Catholic church, to reunite in the same sentiments those who profess a common belief. At the same time a magistrate, charged with every thing that concerns public worship, has attended to the rights of every sect; he has collected, in conferences with the Lutheran and Calvinistic ministers, the information necessary to prepare regulations, which will secure to all the liberty which belongs to them, and the publicity which the interest of social order gives authority to grant them.

" The support of all modes of worship will be provided for by equal means; nothing will be left to the arbitrary disposal of their ministers, and the public treasure will not feel any increase in the burden of the charge.

" If some citizens have been alarmed by empty rumours, let them quiet themselves; the government has done every thing to reconcile the minds of the citizens: but it has done nothing that could wound their principles, or the independence of their opinions.

" The continental peace set at rest whatever inquietude, whatever vain fears still remained: already blessed with the happiness of which they had so long been in expectation, the citizens reposed on the bosom of the constitution, and attached their whole destiny to it.

" Enlightened and faithful ministers have seconded well this disposition of the public mind; every exertion of authority exercised by them has met nothing but zeal, love, and gratitude.

" Hence the government has acquired that security which makes it its strength; it has no more doubt of the opinion of the public than its own intentions, and has dared to appeal to it without dreading its reply. A prince, issuing from the blood which reigned over France, has traversed our departments, has sojourned in the capital, has received from the government all the honours due to his crown, and from the citizens all the respect that one people owes to another in the person who is called to exercise its government, without a single suspicion to alter the calm of administration, or a single rumour to disturb the tranquillity of the public mind. The countenance of a

free, and the affection of a hospitable people, have been seen throughout; foreigners, and the enemies of the country, have perceived that the Republic was in the hearts of the French, and that it had already acquired there all the maturity of ages.

“ The return of our warriors into the French territory has been a succession of fêtes and of triumphs. These conquerors, so terrible in battle, have been as friends and brothers among us; blessed in the public happiness, enjoying, without haughtiness, the gratitude that they deserve; and, by the most severe discipline, proving themselves worthy of the victories which they had obtained.

“ In the war that remained yet to be carried on, events have been chequered with success and reverses. Reduced to the necessity of struggling against the marine of England, with an inferior force, our navy has shown itself with courage in the Mediterranean, when that sea was covered with the fleets of the enemy. On the ocean it has recalled some remembrance of its ancient splendour; by a glorious resistance it has astonished England, collected on her coast to be witness of her own defeat; and if peace had not been restored, there was no reason to hope that it would avenge its past misfortunes, as well as the faults that had produced them.

“ In Egypt, the soldiers of the army of the East have yielded; but they have yielded rather to circumstances, than to the force of Turkey and of England, and certainly they would have conquered, if they had fought united. At length they return to their country, and they return with the glory which is due to four years of courage and of labour. They leave in Egypt an immortal memory, which will, perhaps, one day, revive there the arts and institutions of society. History at least will not pass over in silence all that the French have done to introduce into that country the civilization and improvements of Europe. It will relate by what efforts they conquered it, with what wisdom and what discipline they so long preserved it, and, perhaps, it will deplore their loss of it as a new calamity to mankind.

“ Twenty-eight thousand Frenchmen entered Egypt for the purpose of conquering it; more have been sent there at different periods since, but others have returned to nearly the same number. Twenty-three thousand re-enter France, after the evacuation, without including the foreigners who have followed their fortunes. So that four campaigns, a number of battles, and the effects of diseases, have not altogether carried off one-fifth of the army of the East.

“ After the continental war, every reduction in the army that circumstances would permit, has been carried into effect by the government.

“ Unconditional discharges are granted; they are granted without preference, without favour, and according to an order irrevocably

fixed. Those who have first taken arms in obedience to the laws of the requisition, obtained them first.

" In order to fill up the vacancy which those discharges will leave in the army, it will be necessary to call upon the conscripts of the ninth and tenth years; and, in the course of the present session, a project of a law will be proposed to the Legislative Body, to place them at the disposal of the government: but the government will only call upon the number strictly necessary for maintaining the complete peace establishment of the army.

" We will enjoy the peace, but the war will leave us a burden, which will, for a long time, weigh heavy on our finances, to pay off expences, which could neither be foreseen nor calculated, to recompence the services of our defenders, and to reanimate the works of our arsenals and our ports, to restore the French marine, to create anew all that the war has destroyed, all that time has consumed; in fine, to carry all our establishments to the point which the greatness and the security of the Republic require; all this cannot be done without an increase of revenue. The revenues will increase of themselves with the peace. The government will manage them with the most strict economy; but, if the natural increase of the revenues; if the most strict economy should not be sufficient, the nation will judge the wants, and, the government will propose the resources which circumstances shall render necessary.

" During the whole course of the ninth year, scarcely were a few imperfect communications maintained between the mother country and the colonies.

" Guadeloupe has preserved some remnant of culture and prosperity; but the sovereignty of the Republic has received more than one outrage. In the eighth year, a single agent commanded there; he was banished by a faction. Three agents succeeded him, two of them banished the third, and replaced him with a man of their own choice; another dies, and the two that remain invest themselves solely with the power that should be exercised by three. Under this mutilated and illegal agency, anarchy and despotism reigned by turns. The colonists and the allies, accuse and charge it with error and crimes. The government tried to organize a new administration. A captain-general, a prefect, a commissary of justice, subordinate among themselves, but succeeding each other as occasion may require, present a singular power, possessing a sort of check, but no rivalry that could impede its action or paralyse its strength. This administration exists, and it will soon be known if it justifies the hopes that have been conceived of it.

" From the moment of his arrival, the Captain-general had to combat the spirit of faction. He thought it his duty to send to France,

thirteen individuals, contrivers of disturbance and promoters of banishments.

" The government conceived, that such men would be dangerous in France, and ordered that they should be sent to any of the colonies that they may choose, Guadaloupe excepted.

" At St. Domingo, some irregular acts have given alarm for its allegiance. The government has not chosen to see, under equivocal appearances, any thing but that ignorance which confounds names and things, and usurps, when it thinks it is only obeying; but an army and a fleet, which are preparing to set out from the ports of Europe, will soon have dissipated all these clouds, and St. Domingo will return entirely under the laws of the Republic.

" At St. Domingo and at Guadaloupe, there are no longer any slaves; all are free, and shall remain free. Prudence and time will restore order in them, and re-establish cultivation and industry.

" At Martinique different principles will prevail: Martinique has kept up slavery, and slavery shall still be kept up there. Humanity has, already, suffered too much to attempt a new revolution there.

" Guiane has prospered under an active and vigorous governor; it will prosper still more under the empire of peace, and by the addition of a new territory, which calls for cultivation, and promises wealth.

" The isles of France and Reunion have remained faithful to the mother country, in the midst of factions, and under an administration feeble and unsettled, such as chance made it, and which has received from the government neither her impulse nor her assistance. These colonies, so important, are confirmed; they no longer fear that the mother country, by giving liberty to the blacks, will establish the slavery of the whites.

" In our foreign relations, the government will not fear to develop their principles and their maxims. Fidelity to our Allies, respect for their independence, frankness and loyalty towards our enemies; such has been the policy of Government.

" Batavia reproached her political organization with not having been conceived for her.

" But, for some years, that organization governed Batavia. The principle of the Government is, that nothing is more fatal to the happiness of a people than the instability of their institutions; and, when the Batavian Directory endeavoured to ascertain their opinion respecting alterations, they constantly reminded them of this principle.

" But, at length, the Batavian People wished to alter their organization, and they have adopted a new constitution. Government have acknowledged that constitution; and it was their duty to acknowledge it, because it was the will of an independent people.

" Twenty-five thousand men were to remain in Batavia, according to the terms of the treaty of the Hague, until the general peace. The Batavians desired this force to be reduced; and, in virtue of a recent convention, they have been reduced to 10,000 men.

" Helvetia has afforded, during the year 9, the spectacle of a people torn by parties, each of those parties invoking the power, and, sometimes, the arms of France.

" Our troops have received orders to return to our territories: 4,000 men alone still remain in Helvetia, by the wish of all the local authorities, who have claimed their remaining among them.

" Often has Helvetia submitted to the First Consul's plans for organization; often has she asked his advice; he has always recalled her to the recollection of her independence: 'Remember only,' he has sometimes said, 'the courage and virtues of your fathers, have an organization simple as their manners. Think of those different religions, and those different languages, which have their limits marked out; think of those vallies, of those mountains, that separate you, of so many recollections attached to their natural boundaries; and let there remain of all that an impression in your organization.—Above all, as an example to the people of Europe, preserve liberty and equality to that nation, which first taught them to be free and independent.'

" These were but counsels, and they were coolly heard. Helvetia remains without a pilot in the midst of storms. The Minister of the Republic has been nothing more than a conciliator amidst the divided parties; and the general of our troops has refused to sanction the support of his force.

" The Cisalpine and Liguria, have at length decreed their organization. Both fear, in the movements of the first appointments, the revival of rivalry and hatred. They have appeared to desire, that the First Consul should take these appointments upon himself.

" He will endeavour to reconcile this wish of two Republics so dear to France, with the more sacred functions which his office imposes upon him.

" Lucca has expiated in the agonies of a provisionary regime, the errors that deserved the indignation of the French people. She is now employed in giving herself a definitive organization.

" The King of Tuscany, tranquil upon his throne, has been acknowledged by great powers, and will soon be by all.

" Four thousand French are guarding Leghorn for him, and will evacuate it when he shall have organized a national army.

" Piedmont forms our 27th military division, and under a milder regime, forgets the miseries of a long anarchy.

" The Holy Father, Sovereign of Rome, possesses his states in their

integrity. Pesaro, Fano, Castel St. Leone, which had been occupied by Cisalpine troops, have been restored to him.

"Fifteen hundred French troops are still in the citadel of Ancona, and in order to ensure the communication with the army of the South.

"After the peace of Luneville, France might have fallen with her whole weight upon the Kingdom of Naples; have punished the Sovereign for having first broken the treaties, and have made him repent the affront the French had received in the very port of Naples; but the government thought themselves revenged as soon as they had the power of being revenged; they felt nothing more than the desire and the necessity of peace; to give it, they demanded only the Port of Otranto, necessary to their designs in the East, as Malta had been occupied by the British.

"Paul the First loved France; he wished for the peace of Europe; he wished, above all, for the freedom of the seas. His great soul was moved by the pacific sentiments which the First Consul had manifested; it was afterwards moved by our successes and our victories; and hence the first ties that attached him to the Republic.

"Eight thousand Russians had been made prisoners in fighting with the Allies; but the administration that then directed England, had refused to exchange them for French prisoners. The government was indignant at this refusal; they resolved to restore those brave warriors, abandoned by their Allies, to their country; they restored them in a manner worthy the Republic, of themselves, and of their Sovereign. Hence closer ties, and more intimate approximation.

"On a sudden, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia united; a coalition was formed to guarantee the freedom of the seas: Hanover was occupied by the Prussian troops; great and vast operations were preparing, but Paul died suddenly.

"Bavaria hastened to revive the ties that united her to France. That Ally, so important to us, has sustained great losses on the left bank of the Rhine; the interest and the desire of France, are, that Bavaria shall obtain a just and full indemnity.

"Great discussions have taken place at Ratisbon, upon the execution of the Treaty of Luneville; but those discussions do not immediately concern France. The peace of Luneville, concluded with the Empire, and ratified by the Diet, has irrevocably fixed on that side all the interests of the Republic. If the Republic still take part in the discussions of Ratisbon, it is only as guarantee of the stipulations contained in the 7th Article of the Treaty of Luneville, and for the purpose of maintaining a just equilibrium in Germany.

"Peace has been signed with Russia; and nothing will hereafter disturb the relation of two great people, who, with so many reasons

for loving, have none for fearing each other; and whom nature has placed at the two extremities of Europe, to be the counterpoise of the North and the South.

" The Porte, restored to her real interests, and her inclinations for France, has again found her most faithful and ancient Ally.

" With the United States of America all difficulties have been removed.

" Finally, the Preliminaries of Peace with England have been ratified.

" Peace with England, must have been the produce of long negotiations, maintained by a system of war, which, though slow in its preparation, was infallible in its result.

" Already the greater part of her Allies had abandoned her. Hanover, the sole possession of her Sovereign, upon the continent, remained in the power of Prussia; the Porte, menaced by our important positions on the Adriatic, had entered upon a private negotiation.

" Portugal remained to her; having been so long under the influence of the exclusive commerce of the English; Portugal, was, in fact, no more than a province of Great Britain. It was there that Spain was to find a compensation for the cession of Trinidad. Her army advances; a division of the troops of the Republic encamp upon the frontier of Portugal, to support her operations; but, after the first hostilities, and some light skirmishes, the Spanish minister ratifies, separately, the Treaty of Badajoz. From that time, the loss of Trinidad to Spain was to be predicted; from that time, in fact, England considered it as a possession acquired to her, and removed out of the negotiation everything that could suppose the restitution of it possible.

" Before the ratification of the particular Treaty of France with Portugal, the government made known to the Cabinet of Madrid, that determination of England.

" England refused, with the same inflexibility, the restoration of Ceylon. But the Batavian Republic will find, in the numerous possessions that are restored to her, the re-establishment of her commerce and her power.

" France has supported the interests of her Allies with as much strength as her own: she has done it to the extent of sacrificing greater advantages than she could have obtained for herself; but she was forced to stop at the point in which all negotiation became impossible. Her exhausted Allies afforded her no more resources for the continuance of war; and the objects, the restitution of which was refused them by England, did not balance to them the chances

of a new campaign, and all the calamities with which it might overwhelm them.

" Thus, in all parts of the world, the Republic has only friends or Allies, and her commerce and her industry are returning to their accustomed channels.

" In the whole course of the negotiations the present administration of England have shown a frank desire to put an end to the miseries of war: the English people have embraced peace with enthusiasm; the hatred of rivalship is extinguished; the emulation of great actions and useful enterprises will only remain.

" The Government have made it their ambition to replace France in her natural relations with all nations; they will make it their glory to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace, which shall constitute their happiness as the happiness of humanity.

(Signed)

" BUONAPARTE, First Consul.

" H. B. MARET, Secretary of State."

From this view of the conduct of Buonaparté it might seem, that he was born not only for the good of France but of mankind. He was careful to encourage virtue, science, and all good arts: in his own deportment he was exemplary; and for what concerned France in relation to foreign countries, he professed an emulation of " great actions and useful enterprises, and was determined to perpetuate a peace which should constitute the happiness of the French as well as that of humanity." This, indeed, would have been true glory: and there were not a few who entertained sanguine hopes that Buonaparté would have exhibited as illustrious an example of moderation and justice, as he had done of skill, valour, and success in war. How justly these expectations were formed will be seen in the sequel.

During the interval of peace, that now succeeded, let us attend our countrymen to Paris, and view, for a moment, Buonaparté, and his attentions to the city in which he presides. Anecdotes of a man, who has changed the destiny of the world, must be interesting; and it will form a contrast to the turbulent scenes of bloodshed and war in which we have, hitherto, viewed him.

That the military government, as it is now established in France, was projected and intended by Buonaparté, in the earliest part of his career, may be presumed, from the following anecdote.

When Buonaparté had expelled the Directory, who resided in the palace of the Luxembourg, he was asked where he would take up his residence; after a moment's pause, he replied, "At the palace of the *Thuilleries*; it is a good *military post*!"

A parade was held* in each decade; and, as this was a shew of which he made a part, the people flocked to see it. In private his name is seldom mentioned; there seems little inclination to praise him or to blame: but that he has the suspicions of a man who was considered as a usurper, or who considers himself as such, is evident.

Fouché was the protector of the Republicans, and, while defending their cause, the Chief Consul, one day, answered him, with some asperity, "The Republicans do not love me!" "True!" replied Fouché: "they say you are the high-priest of superstition; however, they remain quiet. But how do the Emigrants, the Royalists, and the Priests, whom you protect, act?" Fouché then (taking various papers out of his pocket, which contained proofs of the evil intentions of the parties he had named) added: "Look here! and here! and here! These papers will afford you sufficient information."

Immediately, at least soon after this conversation, Fouché addressed a paper to the Prefect of Brussels, and, I believe, to other prefects; which appeared in the journals, and might be called, a philippic against the priests: it accused them of turbulence, intolerance, and practices unworthy of the morality of the gospel; and required, that such conduct should be reprov'd, and, in future,

* We speak of the period 1801-2, during the time that our countrymen visited Paris. Many of the following anecdotes are derived from *Holcroft's Travels*.

prevented. This paper was no less offensive to one party than flattering to the hopes of the other. The *Concordat* was then first in contemplation, and the Republicans would not suffer themselves to believe that the country was again to be taxed for the purposes of a state religion: Buonaparté was of a different opinion; and it is asserted, that Fouché was reprimanded with marks of considerable dissatisfaction, and silence was imposed upon him. The viceroy must not govern the king.

The Italians will never pardon France for having deprived their country of its noblest works of art: this is the only sacrilege of which, in general, they complain: -

The great Canova, a man who, as a statuary, is perhaps but little inferior to the ancients, was, sent for by Buonaparté, to take his bust. The artist was of no party in politics; devoting his life to the studies in which he delights, and on which his thoughts are intense, he paid little attention to the fate of empires: to rob Rome, however, of the statues, which were so lately her boast, and afforded the models on which he formed his taste, was a crime he could never forgive: he openly acknowledged his dislike of the Chief Consul, rejected all offers made him to reside at Paris; and, while modelling Buonaparté, frankly told him he was surprised to find himself in that place, and so employed!

This is in favour of the Consul; it appears that there are talents the dignity of which he respects.

Volney had believed in the virtue of Buonaparté, had been his friend, and admitted to his familiarity; and, being a sincere lover of freedom himself, he continued its defender. Not sufficiently aware of the effects that the exercise of power had produced, that remonstrance was become offensive, and difference of opinion an insult; he was, one day, endeavouring to convince the Chief Consul of the mischief he would do to mankind by again conferring power on the priesthood, admitting the smallest of

its once usurped claims, and burthening people, who were of a different creed, with a general and unjust tax.

Buonaparté replied, "Why do you mention the people? I do but act, in this business, according to their desire: a large majority of the people wish for the re-establishment of the church."

Forgetful of the possibility, or, perhaps, not suspecting it, that the truth, which instantly occurred to his mind, should so deeply wound the pride of a man whose supremacy was so recent, Volney answered, "Were you to act according to the will of the majority you must immediately cede your power, the majority of the people would vote for the return of the Bourbons."

The rage of the Chief Consul was ungovernable: the common report is, that he instantly struck Volney and ordered him from his presence; since which he has never again entered the palace of the Thuilleries.

Some one, in the true spirit of French declamation, affirmed, speaking to Buonaparté, that England was far behind France in truly understanding the principles of liberty: to which he replied, "It would be well for the latter if it did but enjoy one-tenth-part of English freedom."

Buonaparté seldom condescends to argue; and, when he does, he considers it as insolence in any one who dares to be of a different opinion.

Music being, one day, the subject of discussion, he affirmed, "It is so simple in its principles that no man can be ignorant of it who understands the mathematics: it was the most monotonous of studies, for it had no greater variations than may be found in different angles, obtuse and acute."

Concerning the religious opinions of Buonaparté, no man, it is said, can form any decisive judgment: from his different discourse, he might at one moment be imagined an infidel, at another a Deist, and the next, perhaps, a Christian! To Mongé, an avowed infidel,

who was expressing his disbelief of eternal punishments, Buonaparté said, (after reciting the names of various great men who had believed in the Christian religion, and examples of others, who, in their last moments, had changed their opinions from fear) that he, Mongé, would certainly die a true believer.

He appears to be rather a Fatalist than a Necessarian; for he believes, or effects to believe, in his favourable destiny.

His stature is diminutive, his complexion sallow, and his physiognomy bears those marks that denote the labours of his mind, it is care-worn; but it is also susceptible of great variety. From his atrabilious complexion, cholera might certainly be predicted, but, from the sedateness of his eye, not of that sudden and impetuous kind to which he is so very subject. His voice in conversation is clear and pleasant.

On Easter Sunday, 1802, the farce of the *Concordat* was performed. Buonaparté entered the church of *Nôtre Dame*: he descended the aisle, surrounded by attendants, with his hat off: the sallowness of his complexion was overpowered by the emotions of thought, there was colour in his face; a gentle inclination to smile rendered his mouth pleasant; his aspect was gracious; his forehead large and open.

After this pretended solemnization of the *Concordat*, he asked one of the generals who attended him, what he thought of the ceremony: to which the general sarcastically replied, *C'etoit une vraie capucinade*—"It was a true farce."

Buonaparté appeared not to notice this sneer, and the same general was imprudent enough to venture another, a few days afterwards, on the same subject: Buonaparté regarded him with one of those frowns of terror, which, it is said, he can so effectually put on: and the general fell into disgrace.

The military are the only men who can take the least

liberty with him. It is said that Moreau was invited to be present at *Nôtre Dame*, to assist at the consecration of the colours and to dine with Buonaparté: to which he answered: "Of your three invitations, General! I shall only accept one; I will dine with you; but I will neither go to *Nôtre Dame*, nor consecrate colours."

In the plot to assassinate Buonaparté, (of which we shall shortly have to make mention) there were persons who insinuated that Moreau had taken a part. It is said that Buonaparté sent for him, and told him, "I have heard you have joined assassins; I give no credit to any such tale; I know you to be incapable of a base action: but, such is the effervescence of mind among the military, that you will greatly oblige me if you will pass two or three days at your country house."

With this request Moreau willingly complied, but carefully returned on the third day, that no misconception, by any party, might be put on his conduct.

When General Richepanse returned to Paris he went to the levee of Buonaparté and there presented himself: he was taken no notice of, a side glance from the Chief Consul excepted, who continued his conversation with another general: Richepanse made a second attempt, and met with the same reception. Highly offended, Richepanse, then, in a louder tone, said: "Citizen General! when you are at leisure."—On which Buonaparté, turned round, as if in reply to a troublesome person, and asked. "What do you want, Sir? who are you? what is your name? Richepanse as instantly put his hand to his sword, and answered: "My name, Citizen Consul! is Richepanse; a name, which, if forgotten by you, has the honour of being known to all Europe." Buonaparté, on this, recollected himself; and, with that affability he can so readily assume, made a gracious apology for absence of mind, treated Richepanse, afterwards, with distinction, and soon appointed him commander of Guadeloupe.

There appears to be a great antipathy in Buonaparté to

whatever reminds him of the Bourbon Family. A man had been proposed to him to serve as his head huntsman, and was highly praised for the knowledge that fitted him for such an employment. When he came to be examined, Buonaparté demanded of him upon what grounds he formed his superior claims as a huntsman. The man, with a very imprudent pride, answered, he had many years served, in the same capacity, his royal master, Louis XVI! Buonaparté gave the man a look and turned his back.

These various anecdotes serve to depict the man more accurately; they unfold the minute doublings of his character, and shew, without disguise, what are his predominant qualities: in reading them, we are struck with that mixture of greatness, sublimity, weakness, and littleness, of which his mind seems to be composed. Buonaparté certainly is not so uniform a character as those great men of antiquity with whom he has been compared: in too many instances he has the spots of the sun without his brightness.

THE END OF CHAPTER XXXI.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Lord Cornwallis sets off for Paris....The Danger he ran in crossing the Channel, and the Anxiety of the People of Calais....He arrives....Extraordinary Honors paid to him at Paris....Leaves that City for Amiens....The extreme Delay in the Negotiation....Buonaparté goes to Lyons, to meet the Deputies of the Cisalpine Republic....Gets himself appointed their PRESIDENT....Returns to Paris....Secret Treaties disclosed....Great Increase of Empire acquired by Buonaparté, between the Preliminaries and the Definitive Treaty....Alarm of England....Her vigorous Measures at last....The Treaty signed.

THE peace, that was so ardently desired by both nations, was looked upon as finally accomplished when the Preliminaries were signed: nothing, it was thought, could occur to prevent its completion, and the ratifications were expected to take place within a few weeks. This last, indeed, was regarded as a form, a necessary act of diplomacy, rather than essentially connected with what had been already transacted.

On the 1st of November the Marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed Ambassador to the French Republic upon this occasion, left London, attended by a train suitable to his own dignity, and that of the nation which he represented. The city of Amiens, being nearly equi-distant from Paris and London, was fixed upon as the place for holding the congress, which was finally to settle all matters in dispute between Great Britain on the one part, and France, in conjunction with her Allies, on the other. Lord Cornwallis had previously sent over to Calais his horses and equipage, which were far superior in splendor and appointments, to anything which had been seen in France since the Revolution. So anxious was his Lord-

ship to execute this important mission, that, although the weather was extremely tempestuous, he resolved to embark, on the morning of the 3rd of November, for Calais. One of the vessels, which carried the baggage, was stranded, and lost near Boulogne; and the inhabitants of the town of Calais, watched, with the most anxious solicitude, the vessel in which his Lordship was embarked. Much was apprehended for its safety; but towards night the storm was somewhat abated, and he landed, under a general salute of artillery from all the forts. The next morning he was visited by all the constituted authorities of that District, and, in the course of the day, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the evening of the 7th. On the 8th he was introduced to Talleyrand, and partook of a splendid dinner, at which were all the most distinguished personages in Paris. The next morning he was privately introduced to Buonaparté, who conversed with him for a considerable time. This was the day fixed for the public rejoicings in Paris on account of the peace. The presence of the British Minister added considerably to the general joy on the occasion. By a private order of the police, his carriage was the only one that was permitted, on that day, to pass through the crowded streets, and this was most cheerfully acquiesced in by the Parisian mob. In the evening Lord Cornwallis was invited to the palace of the Thuilleries, to see the illuminations and fireworks. After this day his Lordship gave, and received some grand dinners, at which Generals Moreau, Massena, Berthier, and several of the first characters in France was present. He never dined with the First Consul; and it appeared, from this circumstance, that, although Buonaparté was in the habit of asking distinguished characters of every country to his table, as a private individual, yet, to ambassadors he stood upon all the strictness of the etiquette of crowned heads, and preserved the greatest degree of state and ceremony.

His Lordship's reception, however, at the French Court,

was marked with more distinction than had ever before been paid in France to any ambassador. Besides the guard of honour, which was appointed to wait at his hotel, orders were given to the soldiers at every *corps-de-gardé*, that, when his carriage passed, the guard should turn out and carry arms. This, as a mark of distinction, was one of the highest compliments that could be shewn him, and such as never before was paid to any foreign minister in France. Notwithstanding all this compliment and ceremony, however, his Lordship was soon tired of Paris, and, at the latter end of November, set out for Amiens, where he arrived on the 1st of December. Neither Spanish nor Dutch ministers were then arrived, and Joseph Buonaparté, the Consul's brother, who was the French minister, came down solely in personal compliment to Lord Cornwallis. Almost as soon as his Lordship had arrived, the administrators of the theatre of Amiens waited on him, to know at what hour he would wish the play to begin. His Lordship replied, that he very seldom went to plays, and requested they would fix it at whatever hour was most agreeable to the inhabitants of Amiens: they, however, observed his dinner hour, and, during his stay in that city, the play began at seven o'clock, instead of six, which was, before his Lordship's arrival, the time it had always commenced. The negotiation, however, was for a considerable time suspended. The Dutch minister, Schimmelpinnick, did not arrive until the 7th, and the Court of Spain seemed very slow in appointing their minister; at length their choice fell upon the Chevalier d'Azarra, but he remained a considerable time at Genoa, assigning illness as the cause. As nothing could be done at Amiens till the arrival of the Spanish minister, Lord Cornwallis had, for a considerable time, no other employment than receiving and exchanging complimentary visits. Spain, in fact, who was the only

loser in point of territory, by the required cession of Trinidad by this Treaty, was not very anxious to send her minister to Amiens.

The French Government, and the First Consul were not inactive in the meantime. Two grand projects then occupied the mind of Buonaparté. The first was, the recovery of the colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, which had formerly been of the first importance to France, but which the revolutionary army of negroes, who had defended them throughout the war, now threatened to wrest from the parent state. The second project was still bolder: It was to place the Cisalpine Republic, which the treaty of Luneville had declared independent, absolutely in the power and at the discretion of the First Consul. In pursuance of the first project, a considerable army and fleet had been for a long time collecting at Brest, L'Orient, and Rochfort, which consisted of 23 ships of the line, five of which were Spanish, and 25,000 land troops, and which sailed on the 14th of December.

The British Government was not, without reason, jealous of such a force, and somewhat anxious about its final destination; but, having received express assurances from France, that its only object was to take possession of the colonies, and restore them to regular governments, they at length consented to their sailing, without waiting for the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty. They, however, collected a fleet at Bantry Bay, under the command of Admiral Mitchell, which was destined as a fleet of observation, to watch their motions in the West Indies. When the crews of these vessels understood that they were about to be sent thither, notwithstanding the war appeared at an end, a spirit of mutiny spread pretty universally through the fleet, but particularly on board the ships *Temeraire*, and *Formidable*. It was, however, soon subdued by the decided spirit and conduct of the officers; and fourteen of the ring-leaders, who had most of them borne an ex-

cellent character before the mutiny, were tried by a court-martial, condemned, and executed. After this, a squadron of seven sail of the line sailed.

The year 1802, was, considered, by many as commencing in a most auspicious manner. The termination of our struggle with France; the increased glory of our army and navy; our maritime regulations and laws gloriously established, though contended for by the Northern Confederacy; the quiet state of Ireland, according to the minister; and last, not least, the intended repeal of the Income Tax, a hateful impost, which was, and still is, borne with indignant feelings by the people. These were flattering circumstances, and as such, hailed with joy by the British nation. Yet, towards the middle of January, surprise and impatience began to be expressed, at the delay of the signature of the Definitive Treaty.

The situation of Lord Cornwallis, at Amiens, was awkward in the extreme; and suspicions began to be entertained, that he was, as well as the country he represented, egregiously trifled with. In the meantime, Buonaparté, who appeared to consider the Congress at Amiens, or the Definitive Treaty, as objects merely of secondary importance, prepared to set out for Lyons, for the ostensible purpose of conferring with a considerable number of the Cisalpine Deputies; but, rather, as it appeared in the event, for an object of infinitely more importance to him, that of being invested with the sovereignty of that country, under the title of President. Talleyrand preceded him, and arrived at Lyons on the 4th of January. He employed his time in the interval, between his arrival and that of the First Consul, in conciliating, and giving several magnificent entertainments to the Cisalpine Deputies.

Buonaparté left Paris on the 9th, at one o'clock in the morning, and reached Lyons in the night of the 11th. As he approached the town, he was met, and escorted, by a brilliant troop of 150 volunteers, all natives of that town, young men of fortune and fine appearance. Thus

accompanied, he entered the city about ten o'clock in the evening, amidst the loudest acclamations, and the most rapturous expressions of universal joy.

On the grand staircase of the palace, appointed for his residence, the following inscription met his eyes; and if Buonaparté really possess that grand mind, which we believe him to do, he must have read such fulsome adulation with contempt.

11th January, An. 10.

BUONAPARTE!

Vanquisher and Pacificator!

arrived in this City, and lodged in
this Palace:

Five hundred Cisalpine Deputies attended
Him,

to fix, under his auspices,
the Laws and Destines of their Country.

At his view

the Arts awoke in this City,
Commerce resumes its ancient
splendour;

and the grateful Lyonese, forming
for Him

the same wish that their Ancestors
did for *Antonine*,
have said,

" May his happiness be equal to his glory!"

Could a Hero, like Buonaparte; could a man, possessing his energy of character: possessing his quick insight into human nature, read the above without feeling intensely that it sprung either from debased or hypocritical beings? debased, and, therefore, contemptible; or hypocritical, and, therefore, suspicious. We will do that gratuitous honour to the heart of Buonaparté, to believe, that he despised alike, the givers and the gift.

During the first part of his residence at Lyons, Buonaparté employed his time in visiting the different manufactories and establishments, and in privately conferring with the principal Cisalpine Deputies. At the hall where

the *Consulta* met, a splendid chair was prepared for him, adorned with military trophies; the room was decorated with various ornaments, emblematical of his victories, and inscribed with mottos, applicable to him and his fortunes.

The meetings of the *Consulta* were private, and they, at length, appointed a committee of thirty, to prepare a Report of the actual state of the Cisalpine nation, and the means necessary for its future prosperity and happiness. This committee, accordingly, presented a report, such as might have been expected, declaring it absolutely necessary that Buonaparté himself should undertake the sole and exclusive management of their affairs! The Report was long, and it concluded with pressing arguments, for the First Consul to take upon himself the *unwilling* charge of governing the Cisalpine nation, which, by the Treaty of Lunéville, was declared independent! The Report was entered into the *proces verbal* of the *Consulta*, and unanimously agreed to by the Cisalpine Deputies. A special committee was appointed to wait on Buonaparté with the Report, which invited him, not in his capacity of First Consul of France, but personally, as General Buonaparté, to accept the government of a country as populous, fertile, and rich in resources, as any of the states of the second rank in Europe. The Cisalpine Deputies, it may be presumed, found no difficulty in persuading Buonaparté to accept that which was the undisguised object of his ambition, and the now avowed motive of his journey to Lyons.

On the 26th of January the First Consul, accompanied by Talleyrand, and Chaptal, the minister of the interior, four counsellors of state, seventy prefects of departments, and a vast train of general officers, took his seat at the Cisalpine *Consulta*, and pronounced, in his native language, Italian, a speech to the following effect:

“ That the Cisalpine Republic, acknowledged since the Treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced many vicissitudes,

" The first efforts made to constitute it, have succeeded badly.

" Invaded since by hostile armies, its existence seemed no longer probable, when the French people, a second time, drove, by force of arms, your enemies from your territories. Since that time, every means has been tried to divide you: the protection of France has prevailed, you have been recognised at Luneville.

" Increased one fifth, you exist more powerful, more consolidated, and with better hopes.

" Composed of six different nations, you are now going to be united under a constitution more adapted to your manners and your circumstances.

" I have assembled you around me at Lyons, as being the principal inhabitants of the Cisalpine. You have given me the necessary information for fulfilling the august task which my duty imposed upon me, as the first Magistrate of the French People, and as the man who has most contributed to your creation.

" The choices which I have made to fill the first magisterial offices in your country, are completely independent of all idea of party, of all spirit of locality.

" As to that of President, *I have not found any body among you* who would have sufficient claim to the public opinion; who would be sufficiently independent of the spirit of locality, and who, in fine, had rendered great services enough to his country, to entrust it to him.

" The *proces verbal* which you have caused to be transmitted to me, by your Committee of Thirty, in which are analysed, with equal precision and truth, the internal and external circumstances of your country, have made a lively impression on me. I adhere to your wish. I shall still preserve, as long as circumstances may require it, the great care of your affairs.

" Amid the continual cares which the post I occupy requires, every thing which may relate to you, and con-

solidate your existence and your prosperity, shall not be foreign from the dearest affections of my heart.

"You have had, as yet, only particular laws, in future, you must have general laws.

"Your people have only local habits; they must assume national habits:

"Finally, you have no army; the powers who might become your enemies have strong armies; but you have that which can produce them; a numerous population, fertile countries, and the examples which have been given in all the essential circumstances by the first nation in Europe."

This mandatory oration of the First Consul, interrupted at the end of each sentence by loud applause, was followed by the reading of the Constitution. At the moment it was about to be read, the general inclination of the Assembly expressed a wish to change the name of the *Cisalpine*, for that of the *Italian Republic*. The First Consul appeared to yield to the general desire.

We present the following abstract of the Constitution of the *Italian Republic*. It consisted of 128 Articles, and was reduced under fifteen titles.

By the first, the Roman Catholic religion is declared to be the religion of the state.

The government of the country is vested in a President, appointed for ten years; or, in his absence, the Vice-president, the *Consulta* of State, and a Legislative Council. A Legislative Body, of 75 members are to discuss and decide respecting those laws which the Legislative Council shall propose.

The members of the Legislative Body, as well as of the *Consulta* of State, and of the Tribunals of Revision and Cassation, are to be chosen by three electoral colleges, constituted for that purpose.

The first college is of *POSSIDENTI*, or landed proprietors. This college is to consist of 300 members, having a qualification of 6,000 livres a year.

The second college is of **DOTTI**, or of the learned. It consists of 200 individuals, selected from those who are most distinguished in science, or in the liberal and mechanical arts.

The third college is of **DI COMMERCANTI**, or the tradesmen; it is to consist of 200, selected from the most skilful merchants and manufacturers.

The seat of the legislation was permanently established at Milan.

These are the only distinguishing features of the Constitution of the Italian Republic worth recording.

After the reading of the Constitution, the names of the members of the colleges, and of the government, were read over.

The members of the government were as follows:

BUONAPARTE—President.

MELZI—Vice-president.

GUICCIARDI—Secretary of State.

SPANOCCHI—Grand Judge.

The First Consul then invited the Vice-president to place himself by his side; he took him by the hand and embraced him: the assembly appeared grateful for this spontaneous mark of affection. Citizen Prina, then said, "If the hand that has created and defended us will guide us, no obstacle can stop us, and our confidence will be equal to that admiration with which the Hero, to whom we owe our happiness, inspires us."

The First Consul then broke up the sitting, and retired to his palace, amidst the loudest acclamations. The object of the visit to Lyons being thus obtained, he returned to Paris on the 30th; Azara, the Spanish minister, had arrived at Amiens on the 29th.

It was now to be hoped, that some attention would be paid by Buonaparté to the Congress at Amiens. But, while England was daily wondering and complaining at the delay which was taking place, a circumstance transpired, in the course of the month of January, which

developed most alarmingly the extent of Gallic ambition, and which altered most materially the basis on which the Preliminary Articles of Peace was signed. A Treaty was officially published, which had been concluded in March 1801, at Madrid, by which Spain ceded Louisiana to France; and by the arrangement of which Treaty, the Duchy of Parma, and the Island of Elba were also to belong to that nation at the decease of the reigning Duke of Parma; an event confidently expected in a very short time.

These enormous accessions of power, which France had made in the very commencement of peace, together with the unexpected delays which took place at the Congress of Amiens, caused the greatest uneasiness throughout the British empire, and excited the most universal indignation. The month of January had seen added to the French Empire, either immediately or in reversion, the countries of Lombardy, Louisiana, Parma, and the Island of Elba!

The course which the affairs of the Cisalpine had taken, and the great increase which the empire of Buonaparté had received by the accession of such a territory, operated directly upon one of the most important articles of the Preliminary Articles of peace.

The possession of the Island of Malta had appeared to both the Contracting Parties as an object of the first rate importance. The agreement between England and France was, that it should be neutral, and its neutrality was to be secured by every precaution that it was possible to take. All the great powers of Europe were invited to the guarantee of this neutrality; and it was, also, stated, that the internal organization of the island, for its own defence, should be such, as to secure it, as much as possible, from falling into the hands of either of the rival powers. It was upon this principle, that, although the island was to be restored to the Order of St. John of

Jerusalem, yet, it was stipulated that there should be neither an English nor a French *langue* subsisting at Malta: the *langues* of those nations were to be suppressed, and in their place, a Maltese *langue* was to be created, whose knights were to be chosen from the principal inhabitants and merchants of the island. Neither French troops nor British were to be admitted in the garrisons of the different forts; but, as the period fixed for its evacuation was short, and it was not likely that a Maltese army could be so speedily formed, as should be powerful enough to secure, in every event, the neutrality of the island, it was agreed, that it should be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, until, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, it should have a force of its own adequate to its defence.

At the time of the Preliminary Articles this seemed as good an arrangement as could be made for preserving the neutrality of the island: but the subsequent events, which occurred between the Preliminary Articles and the Definitive Treaty, rendered this arrangement totally insecure: Buonaparté as *President*, that is, *Master* of the *Italian Republic*, might extend his empire on the other side of the Alps, even as far as the Mediterranean itself; at least there was nothing in Italy that seemed to oppose such a plan. But this was not the only circumstance which occurred, between the signing of the Preliminaries and the Definitive Treaty, which deeply affected the minds and the opinions of the people of Great Britain.

No sooner had the Preliminary Articles been received at Paris than some more treaties of peace were announced, with equal solemnity, by a grand discharge of artillery and an illumination. Among those treaties, were one with the Ottoman Porte, and another with Portugal. In our treaty, as an equivalent for the vast colonial restitutions which we made to France and her Allies, we have expressly stipulated for the integrity of the territory of those powers, and the evacuation of the Kingdom of

Naples; but, although, the negotiation at London lasted a considerable time, and France expressly stated those cessions to our Allies as equivalents for the cessions we had agreed to make her and to her Allies; yet, when the Preliminaries were signed, and she had calculated that the English ministry would rather submit to be so imposed upon than recede from them, she produced the clandestine treaties that she had been making, at the same time, separately with our Allies.

By those treaties the Porte had engaged that the French should be on an equality with the most favoured nation throughout the whole extent of the Turkish empire, and, consequently, that the best of her Allies should not, even in a commercial view, be more favoured than those who, without provocation, invaded and plundered its dominions.

In the separate Treaty with Portugal, that power was to cede to France all Portuguese Guiana, as far as the mouth of the river Amazons. This cession would have opened for the French a way into the heart of South America. France, also, before this occasion, announced, as before mentioned, a secret Treaty she had concluded, a year before, with Spain, by which she was to add to her own territories, Louisiana, Parma, and the Island of Elba.

The ambition of Buonaparté was by no means satisfied with his Italian honours; he now openly assumed the most arbitrary and absolute power in France; which country, as well as Italy, he henceforward seemed to consider as his patrimonial property. His return from Lyons was announced at Paris by repeated discharges of artillery; (a compliment which none of the ancient monarchs of France ever required) and, from the moment of his return, he affected a greater degree of state and ceremony, and kept his generals, who were formerly his intimate companions, at a most respectful distance.

On the 6th of February letters, of a most menacing

nature were sent, by orders of the First Consul, to the Canton of Berne, in which the immediate interference of France was threatened, under the presence of the dissensions prevailing among the Swiss themselves; but, in the Valais, more immediate and unequivocal proceedings on the part of France transpired.

In February, General Thureau, celebrated for his atrocities in La Vendée, arrived, early in that month, in the Valais; set aside all the Constituted Authorities throughout that little state and its dependencies, possessed himself of the public treasury, the archives of the government, and the post-office, and publicly announced it as the intention of France to incorporate that Republic with her dominions. Nor were the efforts of Buonaparté less active with regard to internal arrangements: chambers of Commerce and Agriculture were established throughout his empire; societies for the Encouragement of the Arts and Manufactures universally established; rewards for eminence in every branch of the fine arts lavishly promised; whilst the arranging the plunder of Italy in the utmost splendor at Paris, promised to secure to that capital the resort and influx of strangers, which once crowded to Rome, and the other ravaged cities of Italy.

There are some, who, with the inveterate blindness of hatred and rage, see nothing good in Buonaparté; there are others, who with the wild enthusiasm of admiration, behold in him nothing but what is excellent. We profess to be neither, for impartiality forbids us: yet, even his enemies must allow, that he has done more for France than half her monarchs did. His regulations at home have often been guided by the soundest policy; and he has diffused throughout France an emulation and a spirit of enterprise, which will, probably, produce lasting benefits to her. He has even claims upon her gratitude; and, in this point of view, merits to reign more than an hereditary monarch, who happens to be born to a throne, the same as a man is born to an estate. If we refer back

to the original compact between sovereign and people, we shall find that a Buonaparté would keep his seat when many an entailed crown would be hurled from the heads they now cover.

On the 12th of March, news arrived at Brest from St. Domingo: (a squadron had been sent thither, under Admiral Gantheaume, to reinforce Admiral Villaret Joyeuse and Général Le Clerc) it was considered, upon the whole, as highly favourable to the parent country. We shall turn our attention to the affairs of this colony shortly.

Hitherto the situation of Lord Cornwallis at Amiens had been extremely irksome and disagreeable; the Definitive Treaty had been lingering now more than three months, during which time Buonaparté had realised every project he had wished. At length some faint remains of British spirit appeared: the disarming system, which had proceeded to a considerable extent, was suspended; we had already sent out a strong fleet to the West Indies, to watch the motions of the Brest fleet; a squadron had also sailed from the Mediterranean, in consequence of the sailing of Gantheaume with a reinforcement for St. Domingo: other measures were also adopted, indicative of warlike resolution.

Whether this manifestation of displeasure on the part of Great Britain, and the consequences it threatened; or whether the opposition experienced at St. Domingo; or whether, in fact, Buonaparté had completed all he wished; he now, without further subterfuge, seemed to wish to expedite the negotiation at Amiens, and to bring it to a conclusion.

There remained now, apparently, but two points to occupy the attention of the French Government; the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, and the German Indemnities. The latter arrangement was permitted to slumber, and the pressure, now caused by the angry measures of Great Britain, disposed measures of an active

nature to supersede the supineness that had hitherto prevailed at Amiens.

At length, nothing more being to be gained from procrastination, the long expected Treaty was signed on the 27th of March.

The inhabitants of Amiens were apprised of the moment of the signature's taking place, and were invited to witness the solemnity. The welcome event was announced the next day at Paris, by Talleyrand, and proclaimed with the firing of cannon, and every demonstration of joy usual on the receipt of the most flattering and welcome intelligence.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to the mission, arrived in London, at nine o'clock in the morning, with the news of the Definitive Treaty of Peace having been signed at Amiens at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th inst. by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, parties thereto. Thus, after a feverish interval of five months, during which period the most important revolutions had taken place in the states of Europe, whilst the scale of French power was daily preponderating, the great object of the British Ministers, and the general wish of the people of England, was accomplished.

Having laid before our readers the Preliminary Articles, we shall now present them with the Definitive Treaty, and the separate Articles thereto.

DEFINITIVE TREATY

Of Peace, between the FRENCH REPUBLIC; his Majesty the KING OF SPAIN, and the INDIES; and the BATAVIAN REPUBLIC, on the one Part, and his Majesty the KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, on the other Part.

THE First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace by

the Preliminary Articles, which were signed in London the 9th Vendémiaire, (or the 1st of October, 1801.)

And as, by the 15th Article of the Preliminaries, it has been agreed on; that plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a Definitive Treaty, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Powers.

The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, has named as plenipotentiary, the Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, Counsellor of State:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has named the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, General in his Majesty's army, &c. &c.

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Government of the Batavian Republic, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries; to wit: his Catholic Majesty has named Don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his Counsellor of State, Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III. Ambassador Extraordinary of his Majesty, to the French Republic, &c. &c.

And the Government of the Batavian Republic, has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninck, its Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic, &c. &c.

Which said Plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their respective powers, which are transcribed at the conclusion of the present Treaty, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the one part; and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the other part.

The Contracting Parties shall use their utmost efforts to preserve a perfect harmony between their respective countries, without permitting any act of hostility whatever, by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretext.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future, disturb the happy union now re-established between them, and shall not give any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would wish to injure any of them.

II. All the prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off, or delivered up during the war, and up to the present day, shall be restored without ransom in six weeks, at the latest, to be reckoned from the day when the Ratification, of the present Treaty, are exchanged, and on paying

the debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the Contracting Parties shall, respectively, discharge the advances which shall have been made by any of the Contracting Parties, for the support and maintenance of prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. There shall be appointed, by mutual consent, for this purpose, a Commission, especially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation which may be due to any one of the Contracting Parties. The time and the place shall, likewise, be fixed by mutual consent, for the meeting of the Commissioners, who shall be entrusted with the execution of this Article, and who shall take into account, not only the expenses incurred on account of the prisoners of the respective nations, but, likewise, an account of the foreign troops, who, before being taken, were in the pay, and at the disposal of one of the Contracting Parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty, restores to the French Republic, and its Allies, viz. his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British forces during the course of the present war, with the exception of the Island of Trinidad, and of the Dutch possessions on the Island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majesty, cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, the Island of Trinidad to his Britannic Majesty.

V. The Batavian Republic, cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the Island of Ceylon, which, previous to the war, belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East India Company.

VI. The port of the Cape of Good Hope, remains to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other Contracting Parties, shall be allowed to enter the said ports, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian Republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

VII. The territories and possessions of her most Faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the war. However, the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the river Arroway, which empties itself into the ocean above Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penetentia, about a degree and a third of North latitude. These boundaries shall run along the river Arroway, from its mouth, the most distant from Cape

North to its source, and, afterwards, on a right line from that source, to the Rio Branco, towards the West.

In consequence, the Northern bank of the river Arroway, from its said mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the North of the line of boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic.

The Southern bank of the said river, from the same mouth, and all the territories to the South of the said line, shall belong to her most Faithful Majesty.

The navigation of the river Arroway, along the whole of its course, shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlements of their boundaries in Europe, shall, nevertheless, be adhered to, conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity as they were before the war.

IX. The Republic of the Seven Islands is recognised.

X. The Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations;

1. The Knights of the order whose *langues* shall continue to subsist after the signing of the Ratification of the present Treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as the exchange shall have taken place: they shall there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand Master, chosen from among the natives of those nations which are to preserve their *langues*, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the Preliminaries.

It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch, shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French Republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the Order and Island of Malta in a state of entire independence, with respect to themselves, agree, that there shall not be, in future, either a French or an English *langue*; and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of these powers shall be admitted into the Order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese *langue*, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island: this *langue* shall have its peculiar dignities and establishment, and a mansion-house. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this *langue*; and they shall be, moreover,

admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other *langues*. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the Ratifications, or sooner, if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the Order, in its present state; provided the Grand Master, or commissaries, fully authorised according to the statutes of the Order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian Majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall always be composed of native Maltese; for the remainder, the Order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the *langues*. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers: the commandership of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the Grand Master; and this right he cannot resign, even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the Council of the Order.

6. The independence of the isles of Malta, of Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the Order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be opened to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties: these duties shall be applied to the maintenance of the Maltese *langue*, (as specified in paragraph 3,) to that of the civil and military establishment of the island, as to that of a general lazaret, open to all colours.

9. The States of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraph, until by means of an arrangement, to be procured by the Contracting Parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the States of Barbary and the Order of St. John, or the powers possessing the *langues*, or concurring in the composition of the Order, shall have ceased.

10. The Order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the Knights left the isles, as far as the present Treaty does not abrogate them.

11. The regulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10,

shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order in the customary manner: and the Grand Master; or, if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the Order, his representative; as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2,000 men, natives of his States, to serve as a garrison in the different fortresses of the said islands; that force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the Knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the Guaranteeing Powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, as is specified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13. The different powers designated in the 6th paragraph: to wit; France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

XI. The French troops shall evacuate the Kingdom of Naples and the Roman States; the English forces shall also evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and, generally, all the forts and islands that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, captures, and restitutions, stipulated by the present Treaty shall be executed, in Europe within two months, on the continent and seas of Asia, in six months, which shall follow the ratification of the present Definitive Treaty, except in case of a special reservation.

XIII. In all cases of restitution agreed upon by the present Treaty, the fortifications shall be restored in the condition they were in at the time of signing the Preliminaries; and all the works which shall have been constructed since their occupation shall remain untouched.

It is agreed, besides, that, in all the stipulated cases of cessations, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the ratification of the present Treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired or possessed by them before or during the continuance of the present war; during which term of three years they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion and to enjoy their fortunes: the same power is granted, in the countries that are hereby restored, to all persons, whether inhabitants, or not, who shall have formed any establishment there during the time those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded; it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence, be prosecuted,

disturbed, or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the Contracting Parties, on any account whatever, except for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts subsequent to the present Treaty.

XIV. All the sequestration laid, on either side, on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature soever they may be, belonging to any of the Contracting Powers, or to their citizens or subjects, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the Definitive Treaty.

The decision of all claims among the individuals of the respective nations, for debts, property, effects, or rights, of any nature whatsoever, which should, according to received usages and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace, shall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all those cases speedy and complete justice shall be done in the countries wherein those claims shall be respectively preferred.

XV. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and the adjacent islands, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, are placed on the same footing as they were before the war.

The French fisheries of Newfoundland, and the inhabitants of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miguelon, shall have liberty to cut such wood as may be necessary for them in the Bays of Fortune and Despair, during the first year, reckoning from the ratification of the present Treaty,

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and disputes which might arise on account of captures, which may have been made at sea, subsequent to the signing of the Preliminaries, it is reciprocally agreed, that the ships and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in the North seas, after a space of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on the one side and the other; and the term shall be one month for the space, from the Channel and the North seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Islands to the equator; and, finally, five months in all the other parts of the world, without any further exception or distinction of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the Contracting Powers, shall enjoy respectively, in the states of the said Powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which were enjoyed before the war, by agents of the same class.

XVIII. The branch of the House of Nassau, which was established in the Ci-devant Republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian Republic, having experienced some losses, as well with respect to private property, as by the change of constitution adopted

in those countries, an equivalent compensation shall be procured, for the losses which it shall be proved to have sustained.

XIX. The present Definitive Treaty of Peace, is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his-Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession as soon as possible.

XX. It is agreed, that the Contracting Parties, upon requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorized for that purpose, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party; provides, that this shall only be done in cases in which the evidence of the crime shall be such, that the laws of the place in which the accused persons shall be discovered, would have authorised the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expenses of the arrest and the prosecution, shall be defrayed by the party making the requisition; but this Article has no sort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the conclusion of this Definitive Treaty.

XXI. The Contracting Parties promise to observe, sincerely and faithfully, all the Articles contained in the present Treaty, and will not suffer any sort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their citizens, or respective subjects; and the Contracting Parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present Treaty.

XXII. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties, as soon as possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, causing it to be sealed with our respective seals.

Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10th, (March 25th, 1802.)

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.

CORNWALLIS.

AZARA.

SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

J. BUONAPARTE.

(A true copy.)

Separate Article to the DEFINITIVE TREATY, added thereto, March 27th, 1802.

It is agreed, that the omission of some titles which may have taken place, in the present Treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the powers, or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages, made use of in all the copies of the present Treaty, shall not form an example, which may be alledged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers, whose languages have not been used; and that for the future, what has been observed, and ought to be observed with regard to, and on the part of powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other language, shall be conformed with; the present Treaty, having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Batavian Republic, have signed the present separate Article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March, 1802, the 6th Germinal, Year 10 of the French Republic.

(L. S.)

CORNWALLIS.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.

J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Separate Convention between FRANCE and the BATAVIAN REPUBLIC, explanatory of the 18th Article of the DEFINITIVE TREATY between FRANCE, SPAIN, and HOLLAND, on the one Part, and GREAT BRITAIN on the other Part.

THE undersigned Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, declares, conformably to existing stipulations between France and the Batavian Republic; and in virtue of special instructions, with which he is furnished to that effect, on the part of his government, that the indemnity stipulated in favour of the House of Nassau, in the 18th Article of the present Treaty, shall not upon any account, or in any manner, be at the charge of the Batavian Republic: the French Government being guaranteed to this effect towards the said Republic.

The undersigned Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above Declaration, as explanatory of the aforesaid 13th Article of the Definitive Treaty, signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the Four Contracting Powers.

The present Act shall be presented at the Ratification of the two respective governments, and the Ratifications exchanged in due form.

Done at Amiens, March 27th.

(Signed)

J. BUONAPARTE.

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

A few days after the arrival of the news in England of the conclusion of this Treaty, an official Letter, from Lord St. Helen's, at Petersburg, announced the agreement of the Courts of Sweden and Denmark to the Convention signed with Russia, respecting the rights of neutral powers; and that the Swedish ambassador had been distinctly informed by the Count De Hotschoubey, the Russian minister, that, as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of the system of armed neutrality, were now happily done away, that system was considered by the Court of Russia as absolutely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning, of a special engagement between Russia, and the other confederates.

Having preserved the Act of Accession, by which Denmark recognised the Treaty with the Court of St. Petersburg, (see p. 341) we shall here insert that by which Sweden, somewhat later, acceded to the same Convention.

ACT OF ACCESSION

Of his Majesty the KING OF SWEDEN to the CONVENTION of the 5th, (17th) June, 1801; and Acceptance of his Majesty the KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having terminated, by a Convention, concluded at St. Petersburg, the 5th (17th) June, 1801, the differences which had arisen between them, respecting the rights of neutral navigation in time of war; and his Majesty the King of Sweden, equally induced by the desire of removing and conciliating the dissensions which existed, on the same subject, between his Britannic Majesty and himself, having consented, in consequence of the invitation that has been made to him, to accede to the abovementioned Convention; their said Majesties have chosen and named, as their Plenipotentiaries to this effect: viz. his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helen's, Peer of the said United Kingdom, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; and his

Majesty the King of Sweden, the Sieur Baron Louis Bogistas Christopher Count De Stedingk, one of the Lords of the Kingdom of Sweden, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Lieutenant-general of his armies, Chamberlain; Knight and Commander of his Orders, Knight of the Russian Order of St. Andrew, Knight of the Grand Cross of his Order of the Sword, Knight of those of Russia, of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne, of the First Class, and Knight of the French Order of Military Merit; who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have concluded and agreed upon what follows:

ART. I. His Majesty the King of Sweden accedes, by the present transaction, with his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Convention which was concluded between his said Majesty, and the Emperor of all the Russias, the 5th (17th) June, 1801, as well as to the first separate Article annexed thereto; and to the additional ones, concluded on the 8th (20th) October, 1801, promising and engaging to observe and fulfil all the stipulations, clauses, and articles, therein contained, in the same manner as if his Majesty had been a principal contracting party thereto; save and except the differences which result from the tenor of the treaties and engagements existing between England and Sweden, and which are to be renewed and confirmed in virtue of the aforesaid Convention.

II. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, acknowledges, on his side, his Majesty the King of Sweden as a Contracting Party in the Convention concluded at St. Petersburg, the 5th (17th) June, 1801, and binds himself, in the most formal manner, to observe, execute, and fulfil, to their utmost extent, in whatever regards his said Majesty, the stipulations, clauses, and articles, of the said Convention, and of the said first separate Article, and of the additional ones; save and except the differences which result from the tenor of the treaties and engagements existing between England and Sweden, and which are to be renewed and confirmed in virtue of the aforesaid Convention.

III. It is agreed, that the adjudication, in the last resort of causes in litigation, which, according to the second Article of the aforesaid additional Articles, are to be brought by appeal before his Majesty's Privy Council in Great Britain, and before the directing Senate in Russia, shall, in Sweden, be brought by appeal before the supreme tribunal in Swedish Hogsta Domstolen.

IV. In order to prevent any inaccuracy, it has been agreed, that the said Convention, as well as the said separate and additional Articles, should be inserted here, word for word, and as follows:

[*Fiat Insertio*]

The present Act of Accession shall be ratified in good and due form, and the Ratifications exchanged at London, in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible, from the day of its signature.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present Act, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done, at St. Petersburg, the 18th (30th March, 1802.)

(L. S.)

St. HELENS:

(L. S.)

COUNT STEDINGK.

By this Declaration, joined to the effect of the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain was in peace and friendship with all the powers of Europe. The least sanguine minds confidently predicted a continuance of amity with France, and the repose of the continents. Happy presages! had they been fulfilled.

THE END OF CHAPTER XXXII.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Death of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Clare.... Discussions respecting the Definitive Treaty in the Houses of Lords and Commons.... Its Proclamation.... Appointment of Ambassadors by France and England, and Delay in their Departure.... Political Occurrences subsequent to the Definitive Treaty.... Treaty of Peace between France and Tunis... The Proclamation of the famous CONCORDAT Its Articles, and Celebration in Notre Dame.

ABOUT this time happened the death of two very considerable personages: John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland; and Francis Russell, Duke of Bedford; both of them characters of no ordinary stamp; and the latter embalmed to posterity in the celebrated Eulogy of his friend and compatriot, Charles James Fox:

That illustrious Statesman has, since, paid the debt of nature; and, perhaps, enjoys, even now, the converse of the friend he loved.

The Definitive Treaty of peace by no means gave satisfaction to this country; the people at large were discontented with it, and, in the House of Commons, it underwent a severe examination. In the House of Lords, Lord Grenville took the lead upon this occasion, and entered minutely into the merits of the Treaty; and concluded a luminous and able speech by moving, that, in an address to the throne, the danger which this country was in might be duly insisted on, from the sacrifices she had made, without any adequate compensation on the part of France: this was opposed by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Pelham, and was, finally, negatived by a majority of 108. In the House of Commons Mr.

Windham took the same ground, in a most able speech, which occupied nearly three hours in the delivery. He went through the several parts of the Definitive Treaty; and though, perhaps, it may be objected, that he took rather too sombre a view of the business, yet it cannot be denied, that, in a majority of cases, he was justified. He concluded by moving an address, similar to what had been moved by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords: it was seconded by Lord Folkstone. Lord Hawkesbury then rose, and in a very eloquent speech, defended (*as in duty bound*) the bantling of himself and colleagues. The debates was warm and animated; and the magnitude of its object was so great that it was adjourned to the ensuing day, when Mr. Windham's motion was lost by a majority of 256 to 20!

From this transient view of what passed in either House, it is sufficiently manifest, that the peace was a matter of regret to all that were capable of reflecting on its nature and conditions. It was generally thought that we had compromised our honour and dignity; and, moreover, that we had concluded a peace fundamentally insecure.

Shortly after the discussions upon this subject, and some others, that were brought before the House, the Parliament was adjourned (June 28th,) and, soon after, dissolved by proclamation.

The mob found nothing to cavil at in our pacific arrangements: it was to them a season of festivity and riot, and they were contented. Peace was proclaimed in the cities of London and Westminster on the 29th of April, and the most lively sensations of joy were expressed by the million. Illuminations of a splendid nature took place, and M. Otto's house was distinguished for its magnificence. A curious circumstance occurred with regard to this gentleman, which, as indicative of national character, it may be worth while to mention. Attracted by the preparations at his house in Portman Square, the

mob took notice that the word **CONCORD** was put in coloured lamps over the door; the reading of John Bull, however, was **CONQUERED**, and his inference, that England was *conquered* by France: disturbance and riot were about to commence; when M. Otto, after some fruitless attempts at explanation, prudently conceded, and substituted the word **AMITY**. But it did not end here; for some sailors found out that G. R. was not surmounted, as usual, by a crown; this they peremptorily insisted should be done, and a lamp, forming a diadem, was immediately put up.

The public began now anxiously to look for the arrival of the French ambassador, and for the departure of Lord Whitworth, who was appointed to fill that important situation at the First Consul's court, on the part of England. Nor could it be satisfactory accounted for why any delay should have arisen in this ordinary diplomatic arrangement. The nomination of the French ambassador had taken place about the same time as the English; viz. in April: the choice of the First Consul fell upon General Andreossy, who had served under Buonaparté in Egypt. Yet, notwithstanding these early appointments, General Andreossy did not arrive in England, nor Lord Whitworth sail for France, till the 10th of November following.

Let us now, during the feverish interval of peace, (if peace that can be called which had every aspect of distrust and war) take a cursory view of the events that occurred meanwhile.

The first that immediately followed the Treaty of Amiens was, a Convention between the French and Batavian ambassadors at Amiens, in the name of their respective governments, that the indemnities which were stipulated by that treaty to be given to the family of Orange were not at all to be at the charge of Holland. If this had been so understood between the British and French ambassadors, it would appear that there was no

occasion for this separate convention; if it was not so understood, it then follows, that, on the very day of signing the Treaty of Amiens, France, by a solemn act, violated the spirit and true construction of the negotiation.

The next political occurrence that followed was the treaty of peace between France and Tunis; or, rather, the submission of the Dey to the menaces of Buonaparté.

At this time there hardly existed a ferment in any country in Europe, Switzerland excepted: the people there were very averse, from the constitution which France had forced upon them, and impatient for the execution of the Treaty of Luneville, which declared their country to be independent, and to have an undoubted right to choose such a constitution or form of government as was most agreeable to the people. Some tumults also existed in the little republic of the Seven Isles, occasioned by the attempts to introduce an aristocracy of the ancient Venetian nobility into the government of this new-formed republic. This infringement was violently resisted by the people; the parties were, however, prevented from proceeding to extremities by the interposition of the English commodore, who was cruising off that station.

There was now nothing of importance to disturb the peace of Europe, and Buonaparté had leisure to pursue those schemes of ambition which continually kept dawning on his mind and extending the horizon of his hopes. In order to give a permanent duration to the power he had assumed, he felt it necessary to conciliate the affections and soothe the passions of the different parties in France. Hitherto the people of France had submitted to be the mere instrument of every party, as it happened to predominate in the councils of that distracted country; but it was well known that the great majority of them (particularly the peasantry) were much dissatisfied at the abolition of their ancient religion, and wished to see it again reinstated in its former splendor. Buonaparté was fully aware of this predominant inclination; and,

during the war, he entered into a convention with the Pope, by which the new system of the Gallican church was completely settled. This convention, or, as it was styled, *Concordat*, which bore date the 10th of September, 1801, was not made public in Paris till a fortnight after the signature of the Treaty of Amiens.

This celebrated piece of policy is by far too interesting a document, too prominent a feature in the Life of Buonaparté, to be omitted in a history of his own actions: to abridge it, would be to mutilate what cannot be comprehended unless viewed entire; and we shall, therefore, present our readers with it, recommending them to peruse, with deep attention, its several Articles, and to bear in mind the situation of Buonaparté at this period, and his future views.

CONVENTION

Between the FRENCH GOVERNMENT and the POPE, PIUS VII. Ratified the 23rd Fructidor, Year 9 (10th September, 1801.)

THE Chief Consul of the French Republic and his Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII. have named as their respective Plenipotentiaries:

The Chief Consul, the Citizens Joseph Buonaparté, Counsellor of State; Cretet, Counsellor of State; and Bernier, Doctor of Divinity, Curate of St. Laud d'Angers, furnished with full powers;

His Holiness, his Eminence Monseigneur Hercule Consalvi, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Deacon of St. Agathe *ad Suburram*, his Secretary of State; Joseph Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, Domestic Prelate to his Holiness, Attendant on the Pontifical Throne; and Father Caselli, his Holiness's Adviser on Points of Theology; in like manner furnished with full powers in due form:

Who, after exchanging their full powers, have concluded the following Convention:

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND HIS HOLINESS THE POPE, PIUS VII.

The Government of the Republic acknowledges, that the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman Religion, is the religion of the great majority of French citizens:

His Holiness, in like manner, acknowledges, that this same religion has derived, and is likely to derive, the greatest benefit and the

greatest splendor from the establishment of the Catholic worship in France, and from its being openly professed by the Consuls of the Republic.

This mutual acknowledgment being made in consequence, as well for the good of religion as for the maintenance of interior tranquillity, they have agreed as follows:

ART. I. The Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman Religion, shall be freely exercised in France: its service shall be publicly performed, conformably to the regulations of police which the Government shall judge necessary for the public tranquillity.

II. There shall be made by the Holy See, in concert with the Government, a new division of French dioceses.

III. His Holiness shall declare to the titular French bishops, that he expects from them, with the firmest confidence, every sacrifice, for the sake of peace and unity—even that of their sees.

After this exhortation, if they should refuse the sacrifice commanded for the good of the Church, (a refusal, nevertheless, which his Holiness by no means expects) the sees of the new division shall be governed by bishops, appointed as follows:

IV. The Chief Consul shall present, within three months after the publication of his Holiness' Bull, to the archbishops and bishops of the new division. His Holiness shall confer canonical institution according to the forms established in France before the Revolution (*avant le changement de gouvernement.*)

V. The nomination to the bishoprics which become vacant in future shall, likewise, belong to the Chief Consul, and canonical institution shall be administered by the Holy See, conformably to the preceding Article.

VI. The bishops, before entering upon their functions, shall take, before the Chief Consul, the oath of fidelity which was in use before the Revolution, expressed in the following words:

" I swear and promise to God, upon the holy Evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the government established by the Constitution of the French Republic: I, likewise, promise, to carry on no correspondence, to be present at no conversation, to form no connexion, whether within the territories of the Republic or without, which may, in any degree, disturb the public tranquillity; and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I discover that any thing is going forward to the prejudice of the State, I will, immediately, communicate to Government all the information I possess."

VII. Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath before the civil authorities appointed by the Government.

VIII. The following formula of prayer shall be recited, at the end of divine service, in all the Catholic churches of France;

Domine, saluam fac Rempublicam,

Domine, saluos fac Consoles.

IX. The bishops shall make a new division of the parishes in their dioceses, which, however, shall not take effect till after it is ratified by Government.

X. The bishops shall have the appointment of the parish priests. Their choice shall not fall but on persons approved of by Government.

XI. The bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for the diocese, without the Government being obliged to endow them.

XII. All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches, which have not been alienated, accessory to public worship, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops.

XIII. His Holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors will disturb in any manner those who have acquired the alienated property of the Church; and that, in consequence, that property, and every part of it, shall belong, for ever, to them, their heirs and assigns.

XIV. The Government shall grant a suitable salary to bishops and parish priests whose dioceses and parishes are comprised in the new division.

XV. The Government shall, likewise, take measures to enable French Catholics, who are so inclined, to dispose of their property for the support of religion.

XVI. His Holiness recognises in the Chief Consul of the French Republic, the same rights and prerogatives in religious matters which the ancient government enjoyed.

XVII. It is agreed between the Contracting Parties, that in case any of the successors of the present Chief Consul should not be a Roman Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the foregoing Article, as well as the nomination to the bishops sees, shall be regulated, with regard to him, by a new Convention.

The Ratification shall be exchanged at Paris, in the space of forty days.

Done at Paris, the 26th Messidor, Year 9 of the French Republic.

(Signed)

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.

HERCULES, Cardinalis Consalvi.

JOSEPH, Archiep. Corinthi.

BERNIER.

F. CAROLUS CASELLI.

REGULATIONS OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

Of the Regulations of the Catholic Church, as connected with the Policy of the State.

ART. I. No bull, rescript, decree, provision, or any thing in the place of a provision, or, in short, any other dispatch from the Court of Rome, even though it should relate to individuals only, shall be received, published, printed, or otherways put in force, without the authority of the government.

II. No individual, assuming the character of nuncio, legate, vicar, or apostolic commissary, or whatever other appellation he may assume, shall be allowed to exercise his functions in France, but with the consent of the government, and in a manner conformable to the liberties of the Gallican church.

III. The decrees of foreign synods, or even of general councils, shall not be published in France before the government shall have examined their form, their conformity to the laws, rights, and privileges of the French Republic; and whatever might in their publication, have a tendency to alter or to effect public tranquillity.

IV. No national or metropolitan council, no diocesan synod, no deliberative assembly, shall be allowed to be held without the express permission of government.

V. All ecclesiastical functions shall be gratuitous, with the exception of those oblations which shall be authorised, and fixed by particular regulations.

VI. Recourse shall be had to the Council of State, in every instance of abuse, on the part of superiors, and other ecclesiastical persons. The instances of abuse are usurpation, or access of power; contravention of the laws and institutions of the Republic; infraction of the rules consecrated by the canons received in France; any attack upon the liberties, franchises, and customs of the Gallican church; and any attempt, which, in the exercise of worship, can compromise the honour of Citizens, arbitrarily trouble their conscience, or lead to oppression, injury, or public scandal.

VII. There shall also be a right of appeal to the Council of State, on the ground of any attempt being made to interrupt the exercise of public worship, and to infringe on that liberty which the general laws of the Republic, as well as particular regulations, guarantee to its ministers.

VIII. An appeal shall be competent to any person interested; and in case no complaint is exhibited by individuals, the business shall be taken up officially by the prefects. The public functionary, ecclesiastic, or individual, who shall wish to exercise this right of

appeal, must address a signed memorial, containing a detail of the grievance complained of, to the Counsellor of State, presiding over religious affairs, whose duty it will then become to make, with the least possible delay, every inquiry into the subject; and upon his report, the affair shall be definitively settled, or sent back, according to the urgency of the case, to the competent authorities*.

ARTICLES RELATIVE TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

General Dispositions applicable to all Protestant Communions.

ART. I. No individual shall officiate as a minister of religion who is not by birth a Frenchman.

II. Neither the Protestant churches, nor their ministers, shall have any connexion with a foreign power or authority.

III. The pastors and ministers of the different Protestant communions, shall pray for the prosperity of the French Republic, and the safety of the Consuls.

IV. No doctrinal decision or formulary, under the title of a confession, or under any other title, shall be published, or become a subject of instruction, before its publication has been authorised by the government.

V. No change shall take place in the forms of their discipline, without the same authority.

VI. The Council of State shall take cognizance of all the plans formed by their ministers, and of all the dissensions which may arise among them.

VII. It shall be understood, that to the support of pastors of consistorial churches, the property of these churches shall be applied, as well as the oblations established by usage and by positive regulations.

VIII. The regulations applied to the specific Articles of the Catholic worship respecting the liberty of endowments, and the nature of the property which can be the object of them, shall be common to the Protestant churches.

IX. There shall be two academies of seminaries in the East of France, for the instruction of the ministers of the Confession of Augsburg.

X. There shall be a seminary at Geneva, for the instruction of the ministers of the reformed churches.

XI. The professors in all the academies or seminaries, shall be nominated by the Chief Consul.

XII. No person shall be elected a minister or pastor of any church

* The remaining regulations under this head, are merely of local and particular detail.

of the Confession of Augsburg, who has not studied, during a fixed period, in one of the French seminaries appointed for ministers of this persuasion, and who shall not produce a certificate, in due form, of his capacity and regular conduct, during the continuance of his studies.

XIII. No person is to be elected a minister or pastor of the reformed church, without having studied in the seminary of Geneva, and without producing a certificate of the descriptions pointed out in the preceding Article.

XIV. The regulations respecting the administration and internal police of these seminaries, the number and the qualifications of the professors, the mode of instruction, the subjects which are taught, together with the form of the certificates of application, good conduct, and capacity, are to be approved of by the government.

OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCHES OF THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

SECTION I.—*General Regulations.*

XXXIII. The churches of the Confession of Augsburg, shall have pastors, local consistories, inspections, and general consistories.

SECTION II.—*Of the Ministers, Pastors, and local Consistories of each Church.*

XXXIV. With respect to pastors, the regulation of the consistorial churches, which was prescribed by the 2d Section of the preceding title, as applicable to the reformed pastors and churches, is to be observed.

SECTION III.—*Of Inspections.*

XXXV. The churches of the Confession of Augsburg, shall be subject to inspections.

XXXVI. Five consistorial churches shall form the bounds of an inspection.

XXXVII. Each inspection shall be composed of a minister, and an elder from each church of the district. It shall not assemble without the permission of the government. At its first meeting, the oldest of the ministers of the district shall preside. Each inspection shall choose two laymen, and one clergyman, who shall take the title of inspector, and whose duty it shall be to watch over the conduct of the ministers, and to preserve good order in the different churches: the choice of the inspector and the two laymen shall be confirmed by the First Consul.

XXXVIII. The inspection shall not assemble, without the authority of government, in presence of the prefect or sub-prefect, or without

having given previous intelligence to the Counsellor of State, whose business it is to watch over religious affairs, of the subjects that are to come under discussion.

XXXIX. The inspector shall visit the churches of his district, and he may adopt the assistance of the two laymen named with him, as often as circumstances shall appear to require. He shall be charged with the convocation of the general assembly of inspection, no decree of which, however, shall be put in force till it has received the approbation of the government.

SECTION IV.—*Of General Consistories.*

XI. There shall be three general consistories: one at Strasburg for the Protestants of the Confession of Augsburg, belonging to the Departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine; the second at Mentz, for those of the Departments of Lassare and Mont Tonnerre; and the third at Cologne, for those of the Department of the Rhine and Moselle, and La Roer.

XLI. Each consistory shall be formed of one lay-president, of two ecclesiastical inspectors, and a deputy from each inspection: the president, and the two ecclesiastical inspectors shall be nominated by the Chief Consul. The president shall take the same oath before the Chief Consul, or a public functionary delegated for that purpose, which is imposed upon the ministers of the Catholic religion: the two ecclesiastical inspectors, and the lay members, shall have the same oath administered to them by the president.

XLII. The general consistory shall not be permitted to assemble without the consent of the government, and unless in presence of the prefect, or sub-prefect, and after a notification of the subjects in discussion, as described in former Articles.

XLIII. During the interval between the different meetings, there shall be a directory, composed of the president, of the oldest of the two ecclesiastical inspectors, and of three laymen, one of whom shall be nominated by the Chief Consul; the two others, shall be chosen by the General Consistory.

XLIV. The privileges of the General Consistory, and the Directory, shall continue to be directed by the customs and regulations of the churches of the Confession of Augsburg, in all points which have not been formally fixed by the laws of the Republic, or the present Articles.

Approved. The First Consul,
(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

By order of the First Consul,
The Secretary of State, H. B. MARET.

This new religious code, was announced to the French

people, by a proclamation of the First Consul, dated April the 17th; and a solemn celebration of the event was to take place in the church of Notre Dame, the metropolitan church of Paris, on the next day, being Sunday.

The magnificence of the *fête*, which established and proclaimed the Catholic religion in France, was far greater and more dazzling than had attended any solemnity since the Revolution. The procession of the Government to the cathedral, emulated every description of custom, luxury, and pomp. The constituted authorities were drawn up, in the cathedral, by eleven o'clock, at which hour the procession moved from the Thuilleries. The First Consul was preceded by the *corps diplomatique*, the council of state, the general officers, and the ministers. His carriage was drawn by eight horses, each led by a servant in a superb livery; his corps of Mamelukes, also attended, in the richest uniforms. In the church, the family of Buonaparté was seated in the most conspicuous place, above all the constituted authorities of France. The ceremony proceeded with great pomp. The anthems, and the appropriate music, were the work of the first composers in France, and the execution was by no means inferior. Every splendour that consuls, cardinals, bishops, archbishops, and the Pope's legate, could give to the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France, was most profusely lavished on this solemnity. The magnificence of the spectacle, as well as the occasion of it, were highly pleasing to the French people; and this step added greatly to the popularity of Buonaparté. It must, however, be remarked, that the Republican party were much displeased, and several of the military obeyed, with the utmost reluctance, the order to salute the cross, which was carried before the procession.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Various Objects embraced by the Concordat.... Releases the Catholic Clergy from all their Obligations to the Pope.... The Head of the French Government considered as the Author of it, is the Deliverer of the Continent from an intolerable Yoke.... All Civil Power taken from the Ecclesiastics and placed in the Hands of the Prince.... The Objections that it has destroyed the Catholic Religion, answered.... Conduct of the Emigrants.... The Pope's Treatment of the Elector of Hanover, King of Prussia, &c.... Annual Mode of Cursing Luther.... Of the famous Bull In Cœna Domini.... Objections answered.... Usurpation and Sloth of the Clergy in Germany and Switzerland.... State of Morals in Italy, &c.... Conduct of British Bishops towards the French Emigrants.... The Author of the Concordat compared with Constantine, Charlemagne, Henry VIII. and Cromwell... How far it interests English Dissenters.... Unexampled Declaration of the Head of the French Government renouncing all Authority over Conscience, &c.

THE importance of the Concordat, so far as it concerns religious liberty in general, is, undoubtedly, beyond all precedent. No event of equal concern, or pregnant with such good effects for Christianity, has ever taken place, since the papacy and princes, governed by its pernicious policy, had usurped the sacred and unalienable rights of conscience. This Concordat has, in a word, released the Catholic clergy from all exclusive obedience and obligation to the Pope, and placed the obligation where it ought to be, in the prince and in the people. Hitherto, we have only seen the Head of the French Government, acting in the capacity of a skillful warrior, and the most consum-

mate general of his age; now, he shines out in a character much more illustrious, the deliverer of the continent from the ecclesiastical yoke, which neither the present generation, nor their fathers, were able to bear. Now, if in him we do not acknowledge the religious prince, we must admit that of the profound politician, the friend of peace, and the healer of animosities. The Fifth Article of the Concordat, takes all the civil power out of the hands of the ecclesiastic, and places it in that of the prince, and the laws of the country. The archbishops and bishops, swear and promise upon the holy gospels, obedience and fidelity to the government, &c.; and that (no longer forming an interest separate from the state) they will have no understanding with, or take any part in any suspected association, which may be prejudicial to the public tranquillity, &c. To superficial observers, or to those party writers, who wish to make it appear that there was nothing to fear, at this time of day, from the papal prerogative, and the privileges of established churches, the Concordat may seem trivial, or a mere political artifice. But what do they urge against it whose privileges it has abridged? Though it does not change, or alter a single dogma or article in the faith, professed by the church of Rome, yet, they contend, viz. the enemies of Buonaparté, that it has destroyed the Catholic religion! Does not this sufficiently prove the weight and importance which such priests attached to their antient and exclusive privileges, by which they had power to disturb the peace of kingdoms, and to harass or persecutè the subject, without the ability of the prince to interfere in his behalf? and does not this account for the motives of those Emigrants who refuse to return or subscribe to the Concordat; merely because, though it has not altered their religion, it has abridged them of their revenues? In fact, to those English subjects who wish to entertain a mean opinion of the Concordat, it would not be too much to say, that they undervalue the dignity and prerogatives of their own

sovereign: for till this concession was obtained from the Pope, by Buonaparté, even the Elector of Hanover, in common with every other Protestant prince, was not acknowledged by the Pope; so that if any Catholic prince, at any time more powerful than the King of Great Britain, could have deprived him of any, or all of his dominions, there was, till the Concordat was agreed upon, no law to prevent it. In fact, in the Pontifical, or Court Calendar, till very lately, printed at Rome, no mention is made of any Elector of Hanover, nor of the Kingdom, or Duchy of Prussia. In the Roman Genealogical Table of this latter House, printed no longer ago than 1783, the Great Frederick is thus described: Charles Frederick, (Marchese) Marquis, a title so trifling at Rome as to be ridiculous. Prince Henry of Prussia is described, not as the king's brother, but brother to the Marquis! Till Buonaparté arose, no prince ever possessed sufficient power or address, to get the popes to renounce their assumed rights over kingdoms and states. Nor even the meek and saintly Pius VI. when he took a journey into Germany, in 1782, could be prevailed on, by persuasion, to grant the King of Prussia a formal recognition of the crown. In return to the endeavours of a Prussian minister, as Pius did not, at that time, wish to embroil himself with a German prince, he answered politely, and promised, that on his return to Rome, he would assemble a congregation of cardinals, without whom he could not come to any determination to deliberate on the subject. This congregation was never called, nor had this Pope the least intention of fulfilling his promise.

But there was something still more mischievous in the public proceedings, and conduct of the Popes, towards Protestants, before the Concordat was agreed upon; viz. the Pope did not merely refuse to do what good might have been possible for him to do for the Protestants; but he positively did them harm and injury, by instilling the principles of hatred and animosity into the minds of

the people at large. Every year, in the service of Holy Thursday, the Pope excommunicated and cursed all heretics; and particularly the Lutherans, in these terms, "We, therefore, according to the antient and solemn form, excommunicate and anathematize on our own, and the part of the Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all persons following the heresy of the impious and abominable Martin Luther, with all the favourers and receivers of the books of the said Martin, &c." In respect to the more famous bull, *In Cæna Domini*;—this bull, written in 1610, by Paul V. and promulgated in 1627, by Urban VIII. is a complete collection of the anathemas, issued centuries ago, against those who might be refractory to the orders of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It, therefore, excommunicates heretics, schismatics, pirates, and corsairs; all who dare to appeal to a future council against the bulls and briefs of the Pope; princes who establish new taxes without the permission of the Pope: those who make treaties of alliance with Turks or heretics; those who complain to the secular judges, against the wrongs and injuries received from the court of Rome, &c. &c. Formerly, these insolent prohibitions were read and promulgated once a year in France, and other countries over which the Popes assumed an authority. It is true, that in 1763, some members of the Gallican church, that church which had often resisted the papal usurpation, resisted, also, and put a stop to the annual reading of the bull in the French provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne; but it is not less true, that the promulgation of it was never effectually stopped till Holy Thursday, 1807, when its usual reading at Rome was, for the first time, dispensed with! It is true, that the Concordat does not stipulate for any such measure; and of course, this proves that Buonaparté, with whom it must have originated, will cause the spirit of the Concordat to be respected, even where the letter is silent. His object has

been to deprive the papal clergy of all interference whatever with the civil power; and though canonization, or saint-making, has been lately permitted at Rome, there can be little doubt, but that, in a short time, this, also, will drop into disuse equally with the promulgation of the Pope's bulls.

It may be objected by the enemies of the Concordat, and consequently, of the Reformation, that the renovation of knowledge, and the spread of the sciences, would have insensibly corrected all the abuses in the Roman Catholic policy and practice; and that the abuses once so frequent, have not lately been heard of by any means so often as before. These objectors know little of the inconveniences which the subjects on the continent have laboured under, even to the moment when the Concordat was passed, and since. In the numerous estates and lands occupied by ecclesiastics, the prince could scarcely cut a road, or build a bridge, without the consent of that body, who appealed to Rome against any procedure which they supposed would militate, in the least degree, against their privileges; and, as for improvements in church lands, and under ecclesiastical princes, the wretched state, even of the Pope's own territory, and his immediate subjects, is known to a proverb. In fact, was it possible that men, excluded by their profession, from marriage, and of course, destitute of the ties of nature, should have an equal concern for posterity with the rest of mankind? On the contrary, as they knew they could enjoy their large estates only during their natural lives, it was indifferent to them, in what manner they were left to their successors. This is one reason that accounts for the misery under which so many fine countries belonging to monasteries, and monastic men, have languished, till the salutary intervention of the Great Statesman who brought about the Concordat, put an end to their usurpation and their sloth.

We have hitherto, said nothing of the money that

used to be continually sent out of these countries to Rome, under various pretexts; these sums will now be made use of, in giving a new spring to commerce and industry—new prosperity to the subjects and an increase of strength to the state. Before, treasures, when accumulated, were but too frequently left away from the heirs, and bestowed upon the clergy, under a pretext for their praying the souls of the superstitious legatees out of purgatory. But now the French government, which gives the lead to all the rest upon the continent, looks very narrowly into all legacies, now the immense possessions of the clergy, are placed at the disposal of the governments. Many of these have wisely availed themselves of the authority of the Concordat, to pay their debts, fill their exhausted treasures, apply the property of whole abbeys, and other foundations, in useful establishments, in schools, universities, hospitals, orphan-houses, dwellings, and rewards, for old servants of the state; measures by which this property is restored to its primitive destination.

Now all this, in other words, is nothing less than substituting knowledge in the room of ignorance, and happiness in the room of misery. Even a French writer, speaking of the recent state of the continent, observed, "That while agriculture, œconomy, and its various branches, were in a deplorable state of degradation in the fine provinces of Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal; what activity, on the contrary, what improvements in agriculture, &c. strike the attention of an observer in the cold and unfertile fields of Scotland, England, and Holland. There the hand of man creates every thing, because it labours for itself; there it is all powerful, because it is free, and a suitable instruction guides it." The contrast between a government of Popish priests, and Protestant princes, is still stronger in Switzerland and Germany where the different territories being intermixed till lately, caused the traveller to pass continually from a Catholic to a Protest

ant country, or *vice versa*. In that case it was observed, "Does the traveller meet with a miserable mud cottage covered with thatch, the fields badly kept, wretched mean peasants, and many beggars, &c. he can then scarcely err, if he conceives himself in a Catholic country; if, on the contrary, neat pleasant houses are seen, with well inclosed fields, and a culture well understood, it is as probable that he is then among Protestants."

- With respect to Switzerland in particular, the former happiness of which it has been the fashion of party writers, and the advocates of the present war, to magnify to the skies, since it has been subject to the power of France, even the Catholic part has been miserably defective. The author of the "Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation, by Luther," observes, "Let the fertile plans of Soleure, be compared with the much less favoured soil of Argovia; the rocky sterile land of the Pays de Vaud, with the magnificent Italian Switzerland, or the well sheltered Valais; the territory of Neufchatel, with the fruitful fields of the country lately subjected to the Abbey of St. Gall; and, finally, even the states of this monk-prince; and, it will everywhere appear, that the activity and knowledge of man is superior even to the liberality of prodigal nature, where her benefits, as among the Catholic cantons, are lost to idleness, despondence, or the want of care." At present, Switzerland, though not included in the Concordat or Convention, agreed to by the Pope, enjoys, at least, in consequence of its connection with France, all the advantages secured by this important instrument. The celebrated philanthropist, Howard, observed, that the prisons in Italy were incessantly crowded; at Venice, he has seen three or four hundred persons in the principal prison. At Naples, in the Succursal, or prison of ease, called Vicaria, nine hundred and eighty; while he affirms, that the prisons in the Protestant city of Berne, are almost always empty; in those of Lausanne, he did not find any

prisoner, and only three individuals under arrest at Schaffhausen. Of the removal of the misery of these places first mentioned, under the Concordat, scarcely a rational doubt can be now entertained; and, probably, the correspondence between the culture of lands, and the culture of minds, will be found to possess more similarity than may at first be imagined.

In any thing that has been stated here with respect to the baleful influence of Catholic governments, upon the morals and condition of their subjects, we would wish not to be understood, as by any means, censuring the Catholic religion, as sincerely adopted, and professed by the latter. The policy of the unreformed Catholic governments, and the piety of individuals, must not, by any means, be confounded, because the difference between them is almost equivalent to right and wrong, good and evil.

It is the enemies of civil and religious liberty, who have ran into extremes with respect to Catholics and Protestants, just as they were disposed to flatter those in power, or to wreak their resentment upon those who differed from them in a religious way of thinking. Hence, the epithets of Antichristian, Babylonish, and every odious appellation, was liberally dealt out, occasionally, upon the members of the Roman community, till the present war broke out; then it became fashionable, because the French people naturally ran into some extremes in reforming their worship, to brand them as atheists and monsters! It became fashionable, even to pity the idle horde of priests who mostly doomed themselves to exile! And while a number of conscientious dissenters, who shewed themselves friends to religious liberty, even among enemies, were stigmatized by some of the dignified English clergy, by terms of odium and contempt, they felt neither shame nor inconsistency in acknowledging the emigrants or exiles, as their "*fellow christians and brethren.*" To this malignant kind of charity, if such it

may be called, the Concordat, as destroying the groundwork of all these odious distinctions, at least so far as it has hitherto operated, has put a happy period.

In fine, in the means of improvement, reformation, and reconciliation, with which the measures adopted by this new power has blessed Europe; and as some consolation for the wars and calamities attendant upon the great struggle which has produced this important event, we may hail a new æra. This ought, undoubtedly to form a new period in the history of Christendom, because it is evident that the annals of the last 1800 years, do not produce any similar event. Constantine, Charlemagne, Henry VIII. and even Cromwell, have been esteemed as reformers, and friends to Christianity and improvement; but what have they effected in comparison with the events of the last seventeen years? Constantine, it is admitted, found the antient Roman empire in a state of distraction, nearly equal to that of modern France, when the present head of the government came into power. Constantine, like him, began with what is called toleration. In his first edict in favour of the Christians, he said, in express terms, speaking of the Heathen subjects; "It is our will that such as follow the errors of the Gentiles, should enjoy the same tranquillity, and the same repose which the faithful enjoy; and we esteem this reciprocal toleration to be the best mean of propagating the truth. Let no one, therefore, presume to molest his fellow-creature; let every person live as he pleaseth; and let those who choose to adhere to a false religion, not only enjoy their forms of worship, but their temples." But this same Constantine was not able to withstand a narrow minded and intriguing priesthood, which, inured to the persecution of each other, could not endure the thoughts of leaving those they deemed their enemies at peace, and unmolested. He issued another edict, revoking all his former grants, and authorizing soldiers to pull down the temples, imprison the priests, and disperse the

worshippers; but while he thus established his tenets by fire and sword, he was, himself, incessantly changing; perpetually passing over from one party to another, and preaching and inculcating contradictory doctrines, until, as one of his historians observes, forgetting, through the excess of zeal to be baptized, he died an heretic.

Constantine was still called the first Christian emperor; but what name can be given to his campaigns, particularly in Germany; or can the manner of his making war be paralleled with anything in the most odious character of modern times. Constantine, says a translator of the courtly *Eusebius, de Vita Const*, passed the Rhine, and entered into the country of the Bructeri, whom he gave up to fire and sword: nothing was spared. The villages were burned, the cattle taken or slaughtered; the men and women were massacred; and they who escaped that death, by being made prisoners, underwent a fate still more severe; as he judged them incapable of ever performing the least useful service to the cause, on account of their ungovernable fierceness, and their perfidy, they were thrown alive to the wild beasts, whose ferocity they irritated. He, afterwards, entrapped his father-in-law, into the crime of murdering an innocent person, for which he put him to death. The death of his own wife and son, also occurred under circumstances that ought to have inspired a very different conduct. Constantine had just returned, in triumph, from the council of Nice; he was congratulating himself upon having given a dinner to upwards of 300 bishops, and kissed the wounds of martyrs, when, on a sudden, hurried away by mere suspicion, and the bare imputation of a crime, even difficult to believe, he put his son Crispus to death. Shortly after, turning his fury from the accused to the accuser, he ordered that his wife, the Empress, Fausta, should be suffocated. In a word, exclusive of the rest of his crimes, while by heaping exorbitant revenues upon a corrupt clergy, whatever

may be said of the benefits he conferred upon the state, that he poisoned the church cannot be denied. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, was a reformer, but, unlike the present head of the French Government, he was indebted to the papacy for the extension of his own power; and, instead of humbling that ecclesiastical usurpation, he, in return for what he had received from it, established it more firmly than before.

The Reformation under Henry VIII. and his successors, was justly boasted of till another occurred that left it far behind in consequence and effect. This reformation cut off many of the mischievous branches of popery. It was justly reserved for a Napoleon to cut it up by the roots.

Cromwell the Protector, made large and laudable strides towards the object of religious emancipation. He granted liberty of conscience to dissenters from the Establishment, of every description. He even attempted to relieve the Jews from the reproach that had pressed upon them for centuries; but obstacles opposed him from the religious and the mercenary among his subjects. This task was reserved for a greater than Cromwell. The conclusion, upon the whole, therefore is, that what the efforts of several centuries, repeatedly renewed, has failed in attempting, has now been effected at once in the conclusion of the Concordat; the object of which was, to stifle the source of religious bigotry, and to detach, for ever, the secular arm from the power and influence of lordly ecclesiastics. Speaking as lovers of mankind, and advocates for religious toleration, this was as much the cause of the dissenter in England, as the dissenter upon the continent. As to its being effected by a man who is the enemy of this country, this does not, by any means, derogate from its efficacy, or its merit. It is a part of generosity, to admit of whatever is laudable, even in a foe; of course, when it is considered, that whoever the monarch may be who can compass a point to which no

other could ever arrive, he, so far, is entitled to a precedence beyond his compeers; and of him who was the first to declare, "That he did not wish men to think themselves indebted to him, because he had been merely just; and that conscience is not within the jurisdiction of human laws, it is surely not too much to say, that he certainly is the greatest reformer that ever distinguished the imperial purple, or the regal diadem.

THE END OF CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Critical Situation of Buonaparté....His Policy....Observation on the Exercise of his Power....His Plans for the Promotion of the Arts....Improvements in Agriculture and Public Morals....His private Deportment....A fine Trait in his Character....Grand Expedition of the French against St. Domingo....Sketch of the Conduct of the English in that Island....Buonaparté's Letter to Citizen Toussaint. An Account of the Character of that Chief....The sailing of the French Fleet from Brest, L'Orient, &c....Its arrival at Cape François, and the subsequent Proceedings....Proclamation of General Leclerc.

WE have already noticed the Articles agreed upon relative to the Protestants in France; but as the present was the first period in which Buonaparté had found himself in profound peace, and, as the public mind was no longer to be amused by his victories, which had wholly occupied it for the two preceding years, it required no small portion of political skill to manage a nation deemed so ardent, so irritable, and so fickle, as that of the French.

It has been admitted, to have been his general plan from the beginning, to unite vigour with lenity; to amuse and gratify the French people as much as possible; to qualify, or rather overawe liberty, privileges, and pretensions, by a complicated chain of dependencies on himself, and by the command of an immense military: but, at the same time, it is but justice to observe, and to record, that his power was neither exercised with wanton caprice, nor kept unemployed in promoting the public good. In the preferments he made, merit was generally the first qualification considered. He restored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He set about

reforming the civil code of France in a very serious manner, founding it wholly on a moral basis, and extending its influence for the comfort and well-being of individuals, to many domestic situations, cases, and relations, which the law before had never taken cognizance of. He formed a plan for educating youth in all the departments, for the encouragement of genius, and the advancement of science. He adopted various regulations in the finances, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. In his patronization of the arts, liberal and mechanical, new canals, new roads, and new bridges, made their appearance: and knowing the French are fond of shew and parade, he distributed considerable sums for improving and embellishing the capital, and other places, among which the Consular palaces were not forgotten. In increasing the splendour of the nation, he increased his own; but, at the same time, he proved himself no enemy to public feasts, spectacles, and entertainments; his regulations, his countenance, and example, all tended to discourage and check every kind of looseness, effeminacy, or frivolity in manners, in matters of amusement, and of taste; he honoured marriage, and a domestic life; constancy and sincerity in attachments and friendships. Respecting the theatre, he set his face severely against all loose and frivolous pieces, only encouraging such as were of a grave, moral, or dignified cast; he, of course, shewed more countenance to tragedies than any other dramatic performances. In his own private deportment, he exhibited an example of a simple and laborious life. He pursued no extravagant amusements or propensities, but lived comfortably with his family; and, generally speaking, was beloved by them. In fact, his life seems to have been that of labour, with very little relaxation. Nothing passed in the Council of State, that did not undergo his strict examination. He heard different opinions with great patience, considering his own ardency of mind; but he saw every thing with his own eyes, and always exercised

his own judgment. Respecting his clemency, his conduct towards malefactors, and even traitors, posterity will do him ample justice.

A fine trait in his character must certainly be admitted; when the magistrates of Paris had passed a resolution to erect a triumphal portico in honour of him, at an expence of 600,000 livres. It was decreed, besides, "That the First Consul shall be requested to accept the present deliberation as a homage of gratitude, and a pledge of the respectful attachment of the city of Paris."

The First Consul returned an answer by the following letter:

" CITIZENS,

" I have seen, with gratitude, the sentiments which animate the magistrates of the city of Paris. The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to the people, is honourable to nations. I accept the offer of the monument which you wish to erect to me; let the place be determined, but leave to future ages the care of constructing it; if they should ratify the good opinion which you entertain of me.

" I salute you affectionately,

(Signed) " BUONAPARTE."

Notwithstanding the French government had been branded with the odious names of despotism and tyranny, the forms of liberty were still admitted to exist in France. It has, hence, been customary for the Executive Government, to lay before the Legislature, at stated times, an *exposé*, or state of the nation, resembling the King of Great Britain's speeches on the opening of parliament. In the first of the former kind, after the settling of the Preliminaries of Peace, Buonaparte observed, "That the English people had embraced peace with enthusiasm. The hatred of rivalry is extinguished: the emulation of great actions and useful enterprizes only remain." He, then, also, observed, that "The government, from the first day

of its institution, proclaimed liberty of conscience. This solemn act calmed the minds which had been frightened by imprudent rigours; the cessation of religious dissension has since been announced. A magistrate charged with everything that concerns public worship, has attended to the rights of every sect; he has collected, in conference with the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers, the information necessary to prepare regulations which will secure to all, the liberty which belongs to them."

In Egypt, he observed, "The soldiers of the army of the East have yielded, rather to circumstances, than to the force of Turkey or England; and certainly they would have conquered if they had fought united; at length they return to their country with the glory due to four years of labour and courage. In Buonaparté's *exposé*, he observed, "that at St. Domingo, some irregular acts had given alarm for its allegiance; but an army and a fleet, which were preparing to set out from the ports of Europe, would soon dissipate all these clouds, and St. Domingo return entirely under the laws of the Republic."

The prospect of peace with England, had induced the First Consul to turn his thoughts to the recovery of that valuable colony to France. The celebrated General Toussaint Louverture, was one of the last chieftains who had risen into consequence in that devoted island, after a struggle between the blacks and whites, during nearly four years, from 1795 to 1798; and, in which the English, unfortunately, taking part with the French inhabitants, who wished to come under the British yoke, suffered the most dreadful mortality, by sickness more than the sword; and, were at length, compelled to evacuate the island, at a period when, out of their whole number, not more than 1,100 were left alive. The last places they evacuated were the towns of Port au-prince, and St. Marc, with their respective dependencies, together with the parish of Arcahaye; a measure, which, by a judicious agreement with Toussaint, the English Brigadier-general

Maitland, happily effected without loss, and withdrew, with the troops, to Mole St. Nicholas. In a word, the final retreat of the British from the island, took place in October 1798; but, between that period, and the latter end of 1801, after the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace with England, the French could never recover their authority in that island; this induced Buonaparté to send a fleet and a powerful army for that purpose, and to announce the same in the following terms:

*To Citizen TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, General-in-Chief
of the Army of St. Domingo.*

“ CITIZEN GENERAL,

“ Peace with England, and all the powers of Europe, which places the Republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables at the same time, the Government to direct its attention to St. Domingo. We send thither, Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of Captain-general, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces to make the sovereignty of the French people be respected. It is under these circumstances, that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us, and to all France, the sincerity of the sentiments you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived an esteem for you, and we wish to recognize and proclaim the great services you have done the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you, and your brave blacks, that they are indebted. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances, to the first command, you have destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, restored to honour, the religion and worship of God, from whom all things proceed. The constitution that you have formed, though containing many good things, contains others which are contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part.

"The circumstances in which you are placed, surrounded on all sides by enemies, without the mother country being able to succour or to feed you, have rendered legitimate the articles of that constitution, which, otherwise, could not be so. But now that circumstances are so happily changed, you will be the first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which reckons you among the number of the most illustrious citizens, by the services you have rendered to it, and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed you.

"A contrary conduct would be irreconcilable with those ideas we have conceived of you. It would deprive you of your numerous claims to the gratitude and good offices of the Republic, and would dig under your feet an abyss, which, while it swallowed you up, would contribute to the misery of those brave blacks, whose courage we love, and whom we should be sorry to punish for rebellion.

"We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your councils, your influence and your talents, the Captain-general. What can you desire? the freedom of the blacks? You know, that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honours, fortune? It is not after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, with the particular sentiments we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honours that await you. Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness, has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that men, who came from the continent to agitate and nourish factions, were the produce of the factions which destroyed the country; that, in future, peace, and the power of the Government, ensure their prosperity and

freedom. Tell them, that if liberty be to them the first of wants, they cannot enjoy it, but with the title of French citizens; and that every act, contrary to the interest of the country, the obedience they owe to the Government, and the Captain-general, who is the delegate of it, would be a crime against the national sovereignty, which would eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of a wretched war, in which fathers and children would massacre each other. And you, General, recollect, that if you are the first of your colour that has attained such great power, and distinguished himself by his bravery and his military talents, you are, also, before God and us, responsible for their conduct. If there be disaffected persons who say to the individuals that have played a principal part in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we are coming to ascertain what they have done during the times of anarchy; assure them that we shall take cognizance of their conduct, only in this last circumstance; and, that we shall not recur to the past, but to find out the traits that may have distinguished them in the war carried on against the Spaniards and the English, who have been our enemies.

“ Rely, without reserve, on our esteem; and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nations of the world ought to do.

“ The First Consul—BUONAPARTE.”

“ Paris, 17th Brumaire, 8th Nov. 1801.”

The virtues of Toussaint, whom the enemies of Buonaparté will consider as his rival, were, no doubt, overrated. He was an African by birth, and was sold as a slave, at an early period of his life. It has even been said, that he could neither write nor read; however, that he possessed good natural parts, cannot be doubted, from the influence he acquired over those of his own nation and colour, on the first breaking out of the troubles in St. Domingo. A character for humanity, probably re-

commended him as a fit instrument, to some of the white inhabitants, by whose influence, secretly exerted, he was raised to the chief command. He succeeded in composing the jarring factions; and he mitigated, if he could not eradicate, the ferocity of his own countrymen. From his general conduct, and the official papers, sanctioned by his name; and particularly from the circumstances of his preaching a sermon in one of the churches in the island, there is reason to believe him to have been often actuated by a religious disposition. Against him there were many reports; it was said, it was his aim to render St. Domingo independent of France, and to fix the sovereignty of the island on himself and his family.

We will return to the means adopted by Buonaparté. A fleet of 26 ships of war was collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, in the latter months of 1801, and put to sea on the 14th of December. This fleet, and the transports that attended it, carried an army of 25,000 men. A Spanish squadron accompanied this fleet, conveying troops, and a new governor to the Havannah. A fleet was fitted out in the Texel, for St. Domingo, which, also, sailed on the 16th of December; and as single ships continued to sail till the latter end of March, the whole force, probably, amounted to nearly 40,000 men.

The grand fleet, under Admiral Villaret, reached Cape Francois, all well, in forty-six days, after leaving Brest harbour. On the 2nd of February, General Rochambeau's division landed in the Bay of Mancenille. On approaching the harbour of the Cape a mulatto, who exercised the office of captain of the port, came on board the French Admiral's ship, the Ocean, not to pilot her in, but to inform the Admiral that he was ordered, by the black general, Christophe, to acquaint him that the whites would all be massacred, and the town set on fire, if the French refused to wait the return of a messenger from Toussaint.

The Captain-general, Leclerc, replied; "that he wished to write to that general, and inform him of the friendly intentions of his Government. He dispatched an ensign with this letter, and kept the mulatto captain as an hostage; the French fleet then stood out to sea. On the 4th of February, the French messenger returned with the reply of the negro general; he refused to receive the army, and threatened to reduce the city of Cape Francois, to ashes. In the meantime a deputation, from the unfortunate inhabitants, proceeded on board the Admiral's ship: they intreated him to desist, as the city would, otherwise, be inevitably destroyed; they were, however, dismissed without any satisfactory answer, as the General could not act in opposition to the orders he had brought from his government. He now only waited to receive intelligence of General Rochambeau's making good his landing at Fort Dauphine; this he received on the morning of the 5th. On the following morning, all necessary preparations being made, the French Admiral availed himself of the first breeze, to stand into the harbour, followed by all the fleet. The city had been set on fire; the ships, however, anchored at the Mole in safety; the crews were embarked without delay, and arrived just in time to save the lower parts of the city. The Blacks made but a feeble resistance; they retreated in good order, and with little loss. On the 16th, General Leclerc, issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

Dated, Head Quarters at the Cape.

I am come here, in the name of the French Government, bearing to you peace and happiness. I feared to be encountered by obstacles arising from the ambitious views or the chiefs of the colony, and I am not deceived. They, who announced their devotion to France, in their proclamations, thought of nothing less than acting as Frenchmen. If they sometimes spoke of France, it was because their plans were not sufficiently matured to disavow it. To-day their perfidious intentions were unmasked. To General Toussaint, I sent his children, and I received from him a letter, in which he assures me there was nothing he so much desired, as the prosperity of the colony;

and, that he was ready to obey all the orders that I should give him. I ordered him to come before me, and gave him my word, that I would employ him as my Lieutenant-general: he did not reply to this order, further than by phrases, which were only designed to gain time. My orders from the French government are, that I shall promptly restore prosperity and abundance. If I suffer myself to be amused by crafty and perfidious artifices, the colony will be the theatre of a long and civil war.

I advance into the country, and am about to manifest to this rebel, the force of the French government. It can be no longer necessary to prove to all true Frenchmen, inhabiting St. Domingo, what a frantic monster he is. I promise liberty to the people of this island. I have the means of making them enjoy it; and I will respect their persons and property. I order as follows:

ART. I. The Generals, Toussaint and Christophe, are put out of the protection of the law: all citizens are ordered to pursue them, and to treat them as rebels to the French Republic.

II. From the day on which the French army shall occupy a position, all officers; whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the generals of the army which I command, shall be treated as rebels.

III. The cultivators, who, seduced into error, and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel generals, may have taken arms, shall be regarded as children who have strayed, and shall be sent to their plantations, provided they do not seek to excite insurrection.

IV. The soldiers of the demi-brigades, who shall abandon the army of Toussaint, shall be received into the French army.

V. The General Augustin Clairvaux, commandant in the department of Cibo, having acknowledged the French government, and the authority of the Captain-general, is continued in his rank, and in his command.

VI. The General, Chief of the Staff, shall print and publish this Proclamation.

(Signed)

LECLERC.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXV.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Hostilities commence in St. Domingo....Advantages obtained by the French....Dreadful Massacres by both Parties Submission of Toussaint, Christophe, Dessalines, &c.... The Arrest of the former, causes the Flight of the latter, and the renewal of Disaffection....General Leclerc's Apology for arresting Toussaint....Dreadful Mortality among the French Troops....Reduction of the Negroes at Guadaloupe Offensive Decree of the French Legislative Body, for the renewal of Slavery in all the French West India Islands.

IT was not till the 17th of February 1802, that the campaign actually commenced. On that day, General Desfourneux's division, advanced to the Limbe; General Hardi's to the Grand Boucamp, and the Mormes; and that under General Rochambeau, against La Jannerie, and the wood of L'Amc. A small corps, composed of the garrisons of the Cape, and Fort Dauphine, advanced against St. Luzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere; they had to contend with great disadvantages in the ground, and the attacks of the negroes, concealed among the trees, bordering the vallies: these columns, however, took possession of the positions they were ordered to occupy; viz. those of Plaisance, St. Michel, and Marmelade; this place, the black general, Christophe, defended in person, with 2,400 men. As the Blacks published nothing of their proceedings, we are compelled to take the account of the French general, Leclerc, of which the following are an abstract.

"General Debelles, attempted, in vain, to dislodge the rebel general, Manrepas, from his position at Gonaives, owing to a very heavy fall of rain, which harassed the French troops, and prevented them from acting. Several other columns of the French army, however, advancing

against him, a few days after, Maurepas thought proper to surrender himself, upon the condition held out in General Leclerc's proclamation, of retaining his rank.

" General Dessalines, proved the most dexterous, as well as the most bloody of the rebels. By some rapid manœuvres, he found means to set fire to the Leogane, in spite of General Boudett's efforts to prevent him. His cruelties, dictated by the orders of Toussaint, had spread terror and detestation of their government through the whole island. 'Never, at Constantinople,' adds the French General, 'were heads cut off, or cruelties inflicted with less remorse, than by Toussaint, and his adherents.'

" General Laplume, commanding the South-quarter of the island, voluntarily submitted to the French government. By this means, the South was put into their possession, and General Dessalines was forced to retire into the great woods.

" Christophe, after having set fire to Gonaives, was driven from post to post, and at length, forced to take refuge in the mountains.

" A strong position, called Ravine-a-Coulenore, had been occupied by Toussaint, with a chosen body of troops, composed of 500 grenadiers, 1,200 picked men, and 400 dragoons. Every means had been employed to render the position impregnable. General Rochambeau, however, attacked the entrenchments of the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, and after a desperate conflict, in which Toussaint's troops fought man to man, Toussaint was forced to evacuate his position, and to retreat in confusion to the Petite Riviere, leaving 800 men dead on the field of battle.

" After this defeat, the inhabitants of the country looked upon Toussaint as ruined; the cultivators returned to their habitations: his soldiers deserted their colours, and every one looked upon the French as masters of the colony.

" General Leclerc had set out in pursuit of Toussaint.

He concludes his Letters as follows;—“ Thus, has the army of S. Domingo, in a campaign of five days, dispersed the principal bodies of the enemy, and made itself master of their baggage, and a part of their artillery; Desertion has reached the camp of the enemy; Clervaux, Laplume, Maurepas, and several other black chiefs, or men of colour, have submitted. The plantations of the South are preserved entire. All the Spanish part has completely submitted.”

[Another Letter from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Minister of Marine, dated Head Quarters, the 1st March, is as follows:]

“ I communicated to you, Citizen Minister, in my dispatch of the day before yesterday, the success which we had obtained. We are now in pursuit of Toussaint, who has retired into the Mirebelais. General Rochambeau, who has passed the Ester, General Boudet, who has set out from Port-au-Prince, and the columns of the Spanish army, which are marching in that direction, induce me to hope that he cannot long escape us. Of the 500 horse-guards which he had, 300 have already deserted him. Dessalines, the most ferocious of them all, has massacred some whites. Fortunately, we have some time yet before us, ere the great rains and heats commence. All the coasts and the ports of the island are in our possession. Nothing can equal the fatigues of our troops, nothing can equal their indignation against this ferocious banditti.”

In this warfare the infuriated negroes spared neither age nor sex, of those who fell into their hands. All the plantations, for many miles round the Cape, exhibited a continued scene of devastation.

In fact, General Leclerc's details of the campaign, even in its commencement, gave a dreadful picture of the nature of the contest, which, horrible to relate! seemed to be conducted upon an indiscriminate massacre on both sides. General Leclerc gives an account of the capture of the important post of Crête à Pierrot, which was de-

fended with the utmost obstinacy by the rebel army. It appears, that the French force was not strong enough at once to attack this position and protect its former conquests; so that, while they marched into the interior, Toussaint and Christophe fell upon the country in their rear, burned all the towns of the Northern plain, and braved General Boyer in his intrenchments, within a few miles of the Cape. That general, however, maintained his post, and Toussaint retired to Gonaives, whither General Rochambeau was sent in pursuit of him. The reinforcements from Havre and Flushing had arrived after these actions; and Admiral Villaret, who announced this circumstance in the island, vainly supposed that it would be sufficient to conquer it. The rebels, most certainly were unable to keep the field; but the French, weakened by the climate, as well as by the sword, were unable to follow up their advantages, or retain what they had conquered. In another dispatch from General Leclerc, dated Head Quarters at the Cape, May 8th, he says, "The rebels were beaten and dispersed in every direction, terror filled their camp: destitute of stores, and almost without powder, they were reduced to eat bananas. The arrival of the squadron from Flushing and Havre, gave the finishing blow. Christophe sent to inform me, that he had always been a friend to the whites, whose social qualities and information he had esteemed more highly than any other men of colour; that all the Europeans who had been in St. Domingo, could bear testimony to his principles and his conduct; but, that imperious circumstances, which govern, and frequently decide, the conduct of a public character, had not left him power to act as he could have wished; in a word, that he was anxious to know whether there still remained any hopes of safety for him. I returned, in answer, that, with the French people, the door of repentance was always left open; that the constant habit of the First Consul was, to weigh the actions of men, and that a single misdeed,

whatever were its consequences, never effaced the remembrance of services formerly rendered; that, in fact, the information received by me, previous to my departure, was personally favourable to him; and, in short, that if he was willing to place himself at my discretion, he would have reason to be satisfied.—He still hesitated. Several columns marched in pursuit of him, and some slight encounters took place. At length, Christophe apprised me, that I had only to send him my orders. Those I sent, were, that he should repair, alone, to the Cape, dismiss all the working negroes, whom he had still with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Everything was punctually executed; the submission of Christophe completed the consternation of Toussaint. He employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting situation in which he was placed, and with what pain he saw hostilities continued without an object, and without an end. He added, that very unfortunate circumstances had already occasioned many calamities; but, that, however, great the force of the French army, he should still remain sufficiently strong and powerful to burn, ravage, and sell dearly a life, which had once been useful to the mother country. I caused Toussaint to be informed, that he had only to repair to the Cape, and that the hour of pardon might still return. Toussaint did not fail to profit by the permission I had given: he came to see me, entreated to be restored to favour, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permission. I have placed Dessalines at a plantation near St. Marc.

General Leclerc, having thus got Toussaint and Dessalines in his power, talked of attending only to the internal administration of the affairs of the colony; but for this no opportunity yet offered. It should have been observed, that, after Toussaint submitted, Christophe, and all the black chiefs were dispirited, their troops broken

and dispersed; and, finally, to extinguish, as it were, the last ray of hope; on the 12th of May, Toussaint, with his whole family were arrested, put on board a frigate, and shipped off for France! A proceeding so unexpected, and apparently so rigid, required no slight apology to his countrymen and to Europe; and, accordingly, we find it in the following Dispatch.

The GENERAL in CHIEF, &c. to the MINISTER of MARINE.

" CITIZEN MINISTER,

" I informed you, by one of my last, of the pardon I had granted to General Toussaint. That ambitious man, from the moment I pardoned him, has never ceased to conspire secretly. If he surrendered, it was because Generals Christophe and Dessalines had signified to him, that they saw they had been deceived, and were resolved to make war no longer; but, seeing himself abandoned by them, he endeavoured to organize, among the cultivators, an insurrection, to make them rise *en masse*: the reports sent to me by all the generals, even from General Dessalines, upon the conduct he has adopted since his submission, do not leave me any doubt upon the subject. I have intercepted the letters he wrote to a person, named Fontane, who was his agent at the Cape. These letters prove, incontestibly, that he was conspiring, and that he wished to resume his former influence in the colony. He waited for the effect of diseases upon the army. Under these circumstances, I did not think proper to leave him time to consummate his criminal projects; I ordered him to be arrested: the affair was not easy; yet, it succeeded by the good dispositions of General Brunet, and the zeal and devotion of Citizen Ferrari, my aid-de-camp. I send to France, with all his family, this man, so deeply perfidious, who, with so much hypocrisy, has done us so much mischief. Government will see what it ought to do. The departure of Toussaint has caused a general joy at the Cape, &c.

(Signed) " LECLERC."

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This joy at the Cape, if it ever existed, was soon turned into a very different sensation. The arrest of Toussaint produced such an unfavourable impression, that the French were never able to eradicate it. Christophe and Dessalines, fearing the same treatment, escaped the possibility of it by flight. The negroes, in general, complained they had been betrayed and deceived: the whole island revolted. The climate, it has been observed, "came to the assistance of these avengers of tyranny and falsehood." Leclerc, himself, fell a victim to it: in fact, the mortality among the French troops, during their short campaign in the West Indies, was beyond all example, in Egypt or any other quarter. Besides the Commander-in-Chief, six or seven generals of division were among the dead, and, in the month of September, only 27,500, including a corps of 4,000 blacks, could be accounted for, and one-fifth of those were in the hospitals. Even M. Monteur admitted, that a fifth of the troops embarked, had absolutely perished, without obtaining the object for which they were sent out: at the same time, he recommended the Consular Government, to restore slavery to the colonies in the West Indies, where its subjects had been, and to permit them to taste the sweets of liberty, as a punishment for their rebellion, and resisted a motion proposed to the contrary in the French Assembly, in the year 1794.

Christophe was not content with a glorious triumph, and the negroes were rendered by his policy more the French than the English, with very little of the former's spirit. The administration only existed by the force of his arms, and was supported by the resistance to the English. He had declared in 1793, that he was not a Frenchman, and that he was not a black, but a man of colour. He was known as the "King of the West Indies," and he was the only one who was not a Frenchman, and he was the only one who was not a black.

footing as it was previous to 1789; and the slave trade, and the importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed, with all the encouragement and advantages which this detestable traffic enjoyed under the old French Government! That this conduct on the part of the French was agreeable to England cannot be doubted; but, though an understanding between the two governments, relative to the slaves, has been suspected, there is no document whatever produced, to fix the public opinion upon a subject so apparently mysterious.

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